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## MAY MEETING, 1902.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P.M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the Annual Meeting and of the list of donors to the Library during the last month, Messrs. Edward J. Young, Alexander McKenzie, and Charles C. Smith were appointed the Committee to publish the Proceedings for the current year.

Edward McCrady, A.B., of Charleston, South Carolina, author of a History of that State, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Hon. DANIEL H. CHAMBERLAIN, having been called on, read the following paper:—

*The Historical Conception of the United States Constitution and Union.*

A recent dictum of one of the most eminent of English scholars, one whom I do not hesitate to regard as the greatest living master of the English language as well as one of the foremost of historical critics and judges, seems to me to call for reflection and comment on the part of all those of our people who are studious of our history or solicitous of our national security. I refer to the article of our oldest Corresponding Member, Professor Goldwin Smith, in the March number of the "Atlantic Monthly" of the present year, entitled "England and the War of Secession." The passage referred to is as follows:—

"Had the issue [of the War of Secession] been, as Lincoln, Seward, and Congress represented it as being, merely political and territorial, we"—that is, Englishmen—"might have had to decide against the North. Few who have looked into the history can doubt that the Union originally was, and was generally taken by the parties to it to be, a compact, dissoluble, perhaps most of them would have said, at pleasure, dissoluble certainly on breach of the articles of Union."

If such an opinion as this has hitherto been held or expressed by Professor Smith, it has escaped my attention. On the contrary, so far as my recollection serves, no hint of such an opinion has hitherto appeared. In his "Political History of the United States," he has written: "Whether the Constitution was a compact, as parties to which the States retained their independent existence, or an incorporating Union, in which the independent existence of the States was merged, was a question left by the framers to settle itself and which was ultimately decided by the sword." (p. 123.) While this lacks much of being an accurate or complete statement of the different or conflicting leading theories of the nature of the Union, it does not seem to express or even foreshadow the position now taken in the "Atlantic Monthly."

It would have seemed natural that so sweeping a denial of what may safely be said to be the general thought and opinion of the people of this country should be accompanied by some reference, more or less extended and explicit, to the facts, to the historical and forensic considerations, warranting an opinion which the writer could not have failed to know would be not only most surprising, but most unwelcome, to a vast majority of his readers in the United States. The opinion stands unsupported by a word, unexplained by a syllable.

Professor Smith's dictum has had at least one precursor, which even surpasses it in its absolute and unqualified terms. I refer to the dictum of a Resident Member of our Society, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, in his biography of Webster. Mr. Lodge, in closing his notice of Webster's reply to Hayne, says: "When the Constitution was adopted by the votes of States at Philadelphia, and accepted by the votes of States in popular conventions, it is safe to say, that there was not a man in the country, from Washington and Hamilton on the one side, to George Clinton and George Mason on the other, who regarded the new system as anything but an experiment entered upon by the States, and from which each and every State had the right peaceably to withdraw, — a right which was very likely to be exercised."<sup>1</sup>

This astonishing dictum, too, stands unsupported by a single reference to historical facts. Some vague general remarks fol-

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 176, 177. See also "A Students' History of the United States" by Edward Channing, Professor of History in Harvard University; Macmillan Co., 1899. Pp. 270, 271, 415-419.

low it, intended to show how in the process of time the idea of nationality grew up and was expressed by Webster; but the assertion that no idea of a nation, an indissoluble Union, was in the thoughts of those who framed the Constitution in 1787 or of those who adopted it in 1789, stands as a bald, undefended dictum. If it seems remarkable that Professor Smith did not think it worth while to support his dictum by argument or fact, it passes comprehension that Mr. Lodge should have been willing to utter his dictum without comment or defence.

Surely there is no historical or forensic question, no political or legal issue, no subject which, upon all its sides, — in its nature or in its consequences, in the constant vitality of its interest, in its intellectual, moral, and patriotic phases and influences, — can ever surpass, if it can equal, in importance for Americans the question thus presented and passed upon by Professor Smith and Mr. Lodge.

Both Professor Smith and Mr. Lodge recognize and admit that in later years, as in 1830 when Webster defended the Union, and in 1860 when Lincoln resisted secession, the national idea was developed and dominant, and that Webster and Lincoln were then right; but each claims that historically, as a matter of historical fact, in 1787 and 1789 it was neither intended to form, nor was it supposed there had been formed, an indissoluble Union, or a nation.

The importance of this question is hardly diminished by the admission that the idea of an indissoluble union is now almost undisputed as a present sentiment or purpose of the American people. On this Professor Smith remarks, after stating the change of opinion on this point wrought in the course of half a century: "If through the admission of new states incorporated on the national principle, compact had been insensibly superseded by nationality, this did not alter legal relations." This is true and will be true to the end. If the Union rests historically on compact alone, or if in its origin it was a dissoluble compact only between the States; if it was, as Mr. Lodge affirms, "a mere experiment from which each and every state had the right peaceably to withdraw," and from which they were likely to withdraw; then the right peaceably to withdraw exists to-day. No new fundamental theory of the relation of the States to the Union, or of the nature of the Union itself, — whether a compact, or league, or confederacy, on the one

hand, or a perpetual, indefeasible nation or union, on the other, — has been enacted by law or constitution since 1789. In this respect the rights of the States, the rights and powers of the Union, are in law the same as they were one hundred and thirteen years ago. If any part of the States should now or hereafter become dissatisfied, and desire to throw off the bond of the Union, I know of no legal or constitutional hindrance now which did not exist in 1789, in 1830, or in 1860. If in 1789, when the Constitution was adopted, our scheme or system of government was a mere experiment from which each and every State had the right peaceably to withdraw, as Mr. Lodge asserts, then it is legally and constitutionally no more to-day. Or if, as Professor Smith asserts, the Union was at first a compact, dissoluble at pleasure, or certainly on breach of the articles of Union, then it is so to-day.

Historical facts are the stubbornest, the most persistent of all facts. If our Union was as an historical fact created by mere compact, dissoluble at pleasure of any party to it; if as an historical fact it was entered upon as a mere experiment from which each and every State had the right, and probably would exercise the right, peaceably to withdraw, then our Union of to-day is just what it was then, and no more. Opinion to-day, convenience to-day, good policy to-day, may be for the Union; but if to-morrow opinion or convenience or policy should point against the Union, it is as dissoluble and experimental as it was a hundred years ago. If, on the other hand, it be historically true that the Union was from the first the outward form of a true nation, the expression and sign of a government whose authority and existence was intended to be perpetual, "an indestructible Union composed of indestructible States," then such is the Union to-day; and such it will remain till the end.

"Actions and words," says a great historical writer, "are carved upon eternity. Opinions are but forms of cloud created by the prevailing currents of the moral air."<sup>1</sup> The actions and words which created and expressed the union and government which began their career in 1789 must forever stand till changed through the authorized methods, and by those to whom the power of change belongs, as the legal measure of the powers and rights, the duties and obligations of all who are concerned

<sup>1</sup> J. A. Froude, "Short Studies on Great Subjects."

with that union and government, whether it be the nation, the States, the people of the nation, or the people of the States, or the individual citizens of the nation or of the States. The actions and the words of 1789 are unchanged to-day. They are, therefore, to-day, as they were in 1789, the rule and measure of legal right in all the relations of those whom they concern.

It is not enough, when legal rights are doubted or assailed, to appeal, however confidently, to current sentiment or opinion which may forbid, however peremptorily, the assertion of legal rights. Certainly under a written Constitution, safety can be found only in such relations as may be historically and forensically established and defended at all times as the meaning and intent of the instrument. Actions and words, history and text, must combine to make unassailable, in the forum of reason and law, the foundations of any enduring political fabric created by a written document. Opinions may come and go, the pendulum of popular feeling or prejudice may swing from side to side through its whole arc, but if the historical and forensic foundations remain unshaken, the structure may stand.

Mr. Lodge fully concedes that when Webster replied to Hayne, the popular idea of the Constitution was no longer that of an experiment from which the contracting parties had a right to withdraw, but that it had become the charter of a national government; he makes Webster's great service consist not in setting forth the constitutional foundations as laid and understood in 1789, but in expressing the popular conception of the Union which had grown up since 1789. Certainly, Webster did not so regard his effort. Throughout his great argument his position is that the Constitution originally created, and was originally intended to create, a perpetual and indissoluble Union. Every step of the argument rests on the language and intent of those who wrote and those who adopted the Constitution, and not at all on any change or growth or condition of popular conceptions of the meaning of the Constitution, or of the intent of its framers. This is true, equally true, of all our leading authorities, either upon the history or origin of our government, or upon the nature and provisions of the Constitution.

I have said that it is surprising that eminent writers, such as Professor Smith and Mr. Lodge, should not pay even the small tribute of respect to prevailing notions and convic-

tions, of some explanation or defence of their startling opinions. It would be our duty to consider carefully all reasons given for conclusions so contradictory to our preconceptions and accustomed views. Historical truth is never to be disowned or contradicted. No change of circumstances, no new currents of interests, no practical or political necessities, can ever warrant or excuse the denial or falsification of historical facts. If the people of this country have been or are now ready and determined to maintain at all hazards the national view of our government, that determination would excuse no one for asserting facts not historically true, nor for discrediting or denying what is historically true, regarding the origin of our government, and the intentions of the actors of 1787 and 1789.

In the absence of any effort on the part of Professor Smith or Mr. Lodge to make good their dicta, it seems sufficient for the purposes of this paper to traverse their opinions and conclusions, and to state broadly but briefly what seem to be the true historical conclusions and facts.

The thirteen original States which formed the original Union of 1789 were dependencies of Great Britain, actually and theoretically, until 1776. In that year they asserted their independence, declaring in terms "that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all acts and things which independent States may of right do."

This declaration and its terms are historical facts. It is true, too, that the colonies had, as was natural and inevitable, been associated with each other in promoting common interests and meeting common dangers prior to 1776. The New England colonies had combined for mutual protection against the Indians as early as 1643, under the name of the United Colonies of New England. Mere propinquity or neighborhood led to constant acts of association between different colonies. In 1754 a call was made, in view of the war with France, for a Congress of all the colonies at Albany. Only

the four New England colonies, with New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, attended. Franklin here proposed a plan of union of all the colonies which had a strong resemblance to the later Federal Union, but though the plan was approved by the Congress, it met with no popular favor in the colonies.

In October, 1765, the representatives of nine colonies met in Congress at New York, and drew up a declaration of rights and a memorial to Parliament. A Congress of all the colonies met at Philadelphia in September, 1774, and was dissolved in October, 1774, having passed a resolution recommending delegates to meet again May 10, 1775. Agreeably to this recommendation, another Congress was convened, May 10, 1775, at Philadelphia. Washington was elected General of all the Continental forces raised or to be raised, and, July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was made and signed by the members of this Congress.

These instances of associated action on the part of the colonies — sometimes limited to a part of the colonies, sometimes embracing them all — are historical facts. From them it has by some been attempted to reach the conclusion that the colonies had become a veritable nation before 1776. It is hardly a sound conclusion. Up to this time the association of the colonies involved nothing more than mutual support and concerted action in the presence of common dangers. No legal ties bound them together. The instinct of co-operation for self-defence was the only bond of union. The Declaration of Independence undoubtedly gave additional force to their association. In it and for its support the representatives of the several colonies pledged to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. Seven years of war followed, ending in a treaty with Great Britain by which the thirteen States were by name declared to be free and independent.

These are historical facts. Their significance is clear to the extent of showing that the colonies had for many years acted together in meeting dangers and in seeking independence. That this united action had created a nation in a legal or juridical or political sense is not clear. The sound inference and conclusion is that the people of the several colonies before the Declaration of Independence, and of the several States after the Declaration, had acted together and



had become habituated to united action, and were ready to enter upon a final relation which should render them a true and proper nation. If by a nation we mean an organized political community with a sovereign government to which all its citizens are subject, I do not find such a nation at any time before the final adoption of the Articles of Confederation by the delegates of all the States in 1781. It is clear that Congress in appointing a committee in 1776 to prepare a form of confederation of the States were seeking to turn the previous purely voluntary union or concerted action of the several States into a stronger and more permanent union, in which the central government or power should have the attributes of a sovereign government. The Articles of Confederation were intended to form a nation, a political community having sovereign powers over the people within its territory. The articles were styled "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States." In detail, the government so formed was called a confederacy of States; not one nation or people with one sovereign government, but a league of States bound together by an agreement which dealt with and looked to States only. Each State retained in terms its sovereignty, freedom, and independence. The rights and powers conferred were centred in a Congress, in which each State had one vote. While containing provisions well suited, if enforced or enforceable, to establish a real sovereign government, the articles gave no power of coercion or enforcement of the powers conferred on Congress. It provided for no real sovereign government. It did not create a nation.

The evils of the Confederacy constantly increased. They became intolerable. The Convention of 1787 was an effort, a second effort, to remedy these evils, to create a sovereign government of such a character and strength as should ensure order at home and respect abroad. Here we reach the crisis, the determining point in our political career, the point where historical evidences must be studied in order to determine both the purpose of the framers of our present system and the meaning of the language in which they expressed their purpose. Prior to 1789 the most that can be safely affirmed is that there was tendency, growth, movement, effort, towards the construction of a national system. No proper nation or sovereign government had existed prior to 1789. Some

writers, some jurists, have gone so far as to hold and assert that the nation is older than the Union of 1789. In his inaugural address in 1861, Lincoln said: "The Union is much older than the Constitution." In a sense this is true, as I have already explained. But if by union or nation is meant an organized single political community subject to a single sovereign government, I see no historical foundation for the statement.

But this is not now the essential historical inquiry. The inquiry is, in view of Professor Smith's and Mr. Lodge's dicta, — Was a nation formed in 1789 by the adoption of the Constitution, which is, and was originally intended to be, perpetual and indissoluble, except, of course, by force or common consent?

There are two sources to which we may go for answer to this question: (1) The instrument of union and government which evidences the intention of its authors and of those who adopted it; and (2) the historical facts which attended the making and adopting of this instrument. It need not be said that written instruments rarely explain themselves so clearly and fully as to require no aid beyond their simple text. Nor need it be more than remarked that among all the evidences of intent of parties to a written instrument, outside the words of the instrument itself, the foremost in value is what we know as contemporaneous exposition, — the utterances and the silences, the words and the acts, of those who made or were privy in knowledge to the making of the instrument. Contemporaneous exposition cannot be said to be the ground of Professor Smith's and Mr. Lodge's views. Their dicta are concerned only with alleged contemporaneous opinion, Professor Smith telling us that the Union was and was taken to be a dissoluble compact, and Mr. Lodge that everybody in 1789 regarded the new system as no more than an experiment from which every State might withdraw at pleasure, — a right likely to be exercised.

The obvious true course in meeting such assertions is, first, to examine the language of the Constitution, and next to examine the evidences outside the Constitution which indicate the intention of the parties, the framers of the Constitution.

I propose here only to state results compendiously.

The Constitution declares itself to be the work of the "people of the United States." It is possible, but it is not wise, to attach undue importance to this phrase. In its natural or ordinary sense, it would plainly signify a body or collection of persons inhabiting territory called the United States. Certainly on their face these words do not indicate that the parties acting are States, or are the people of the States. There seems to be no possibility that these words could have been used to signify the States, or the separate people of the several States.

The people of the United States "do ordain this Constitution for the United States of America." Surely this is not the language of a compact between separate states. It is a Constitution for one state or nation,—the United States of America. A constitution is not, in ordinary parlance, if ever, the synonym or equivalent of a compact or league. It means, etymologically as well as in a legal sense, a system of fundamental rules for the government of a nation or state. Nothing can be better than Mr. Webster's words: "What is a constitution? Certainly not a league, compact, or confederacy, but a fundamental law." The word "constitution" is repeated ten times in the instrument, and in every instance with a meaning like that when first used. The words "compact, league, confederacy," or their synonyms, nowhere occur, except in paragraph 3 of section 10 of Article I., by which it is provided that "No state shall, without the consent of Congress . . . enter into any agreement or *compact* with another state." Unless there can be given reasons why the word "constitution" does not here have its usual meaning, or rather, unless it can be shown that it has here a meaning quite repugnant, if not opposite, to its usual meaning, then this preamble or statement of the nature of the document which follows, means that it is the fundamental law of the nation called the United States of America, ordained by the people of the United States.

So far there is no room for dispute or argument. Up to this point, there is no possibility of the truth of the dicta of a dissoluble compact or an experiment from which every State may peaceably withdraw. In truth, up to this point, there is no possibility of a compact being involved or of a State withdrawing. There is simply no compact; there is simply

no state. There is only a constitution, a nation or organism called the United States of America, and a people of the United States. All this stands in the forefront of this discussion. This is the badge put at the outset on the instrument we are concerned with. What follows must be read in the light of these opening words, unless they are clearly limited or contradicted by what follows. I claim nothing here but the plain, unforced, undeniable meaning of the words used. This preamble is not a grant of power. It is not a substantive provision of the Constitution, as over-zealous Unionists have often tried to maintain. It is merely a formal, deliberate, solemn, if you please, statement of the character of the instrument which follows. Its authority as such is final. The instrument *is* a constitution; it is *not* a compact. It is not ordained by the States; the States are not parties to it. It is ordained by the people of the United States. It is not ordained or agreed upon or acceded to by the States or by the people of the States. The people of the States, or the States, have nothing to do with it.

In my humble but mature judgment, the argument might well close here, unless it can at this point be shown that words do not here have their ordinary or invariable force; but it is well to look further, and to see if the instrument which follows contradicts or modifies or changes the character which it gives itself in its preamble. We find the Constitution proceeding at once to define, limit, distribute, and apportion the powers which are to be exercised by, or are "vested in" what it specifically calls "the government of the United States or in any department or officer thereof"; among which is "the power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into effect the powers hereby granted by the Constitution." We find also an enumeration of the powers which are denied to the States and to the United States. We find next the provision that "this Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

This absolute, unqualified supremacy given to the Consti-

tution and laws of the United States, over the Constitution and laws of any State, is a proof too plain to warrant argument, that the Union or government set up and ordained by the Constitution is not a compact between States, but is the fundamental law or Constitution of the United States.

Here, again, we might well pause and await opposing proofs. Nothing in point of reason or of fact is clearer than that, if language has fixed value or force, the Constitution is not a compact, dissoluble or indissoluble, nor an experiment from which any State has the right to withdraw peaceably or forcibly, or in any way. It is, as plainly as language can make it, a fundamental charter of government, of the government of the United States, ordained by nobody but the people of the United States, in terms necessarily perpetually subordinating the States, each and every of them, to the supreme law of the land, the Constitution and laws of the United States.

But the crowning evidence of the intent of the authors of the Constitution to make a government and union supreme and perpetual over the States, and over all the people of the United States, without regard to the States or the people of the States, is still to be noticed. And when this is said to be the intent of the authors of the Constitution, it is the exact equivalent of saying that it was the intent of all the people of the United States and of all who were concerned in the transaction. When language is plain and unmistakable, the parties who use it, or in whose name and behalf it is used, are conclusively bound by it. If ever language was plain and unequivocal, the language of the Constitution, to which attention has now been called, is plain and unequivocal.

The Constitution having proclaimed that in its nature it was a constitution or fundamental law of a nation called the United States of America, that it was ordained by the people of the United States, and that it was supreme over all State constitutions and laws, next proceeds to provide a mode of finally and authoritatively settling all disputed questions which may arise, touching any matters arising under the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the United States. To accomplish this, the judicial power of the United States is extended by the Constitution to "all cases in law or equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States and treaties made or to be made under their authority."

With this provision the Constitution became a charter of a true government, a government capable, if physical force were adequate when needed, of reaching to and controlling every person within the boundaries of the United States, without the smallest necessary reference to the wishes, prejudices, opinions, or feelings of the States, or the State governments, or the people of the States, as separate communities.

And now the challenge may safely go out to all men everywhere to point to one sign or indication in the Constitution itself of a dissoluble compact or an experiment from which the States might and probably would withdraw. One feels some sense of indignation when compelled to listen to reiterations of positions so unfounded, so often refuted, so mischievous, as those here noticed ; but the dreary argument goes on, and I suppose will go on.

“The times have been,  
That when the brains were out the man would die,  
And there an end ; but now they rise again,  
With twenty mortal murders on their crowns,  
And push us from our stools.”

Our attention has so far been limited to the language and meaning of the Constitution itself. It is only when the purport or effect of the language of a written document is not clear that resort may be had to secondary or collateral evidences of the intent of the instrument. Upon this principle we ought to pause here, for no language, as we have seen, could be clearer than the language we have now examined. But it has been strenuously claimed that in the history of the times in which the Constitution originated are found proofs that what Professor Smith and Mr. Lodge affirm is true. This field of investigation is almost boundless. I shall be obliged to limit myself to a few leading points which are most important.

We are concerned now only with the question of the right of secession, — not the right of nullification. Nullification, if it is capable of any statement which does not involve *reductio ad absurdum*, is a so-called constitutional right and remedy, — a right which a State may exercise while in the Union and under the Constitution. Preposterous, offensive, and shocking as it is to reason or to practical considerations, nullification was asserted by all its expounders and champions to be a right

which accrued or arose to the States from their relations as members of the Union. If historically it may be said to have been the prelude and forerunner of the asserted right of secession, nullification did not logically implicate secession.

But the dicta of Professor Smith and Mr. Lodge which we are now considering, have to do only with the right of secession, with what Professor Smith calls the dissolubility at will of the compact, and what Mr. Lodge calls the right of peaceable withdrawal from a mere experiment. The meaning and purport of the terms of the Constitution, giving no warrant for secession, as we have seen, the broad inquiry now before us is: Are there any historical evidences, extrinsic to the Constitution itself, which support the right of secession; or rather, which show that the right of secession was understood to exist in 1789, or to inhere in the relations fixed by the Constitution?

In answer to this question we come, first of all, to the convention itself in which the Constitution was framed and wrought out. If the Union was, as Professor Smith has said, originally a dissoluble compact, either at will of any party to it, or on breach of its articles; or if, as Mr. Lodge asserts, everybody in 1789 regarded it as a mere experiment from which each and every State might peaceably withdraw, and were likely to withdraw, it may be said to be incredible that indications and proofs of such views did not appear in the course of the discussions and proceedings of the convention which assembled May 25, 1787, and adjourned September 17, 1787. The printed official journal of this convention, and Mr. Madison's and Mr. Yates's minutes of the debates in the convention, are before the world.

But when these discussions are examined, not only is no trace found of an open expression of the views of Professor Smith and Mr. Lodge, but there is nothing to show that such thoughts were in the minds of the actors in the work of the convention. Can it be, if such opinions were accepted and silently understood or admitted, that no allusion would have been made to a matter so vital and far-reaching, so fundamental and all-pervading in its scope and influence? It is impossible.

We next come, in the order of historical evidence, to "The Federalist," a work which has world-wide fame for its ability

as well as for its pre-eminent authority as an exposition of the character of the Constitution and Union. Not only was "The Federalist" the ablest of all discussions of the Constitution; it was written before its adoption, and while the question of its adoption was in all men's minds. Its object was to secure the acceptance and ratification of the new Constitution. If the right of peaceable secession, or the theory of dissolubility at will, was then in men's minds, is it not absolutely certain that "The Federalist" would have stated it or referred to it? But what word can be found in "The Federalist" that asserts or implies that such a conception or theory was in any man's mind in 1788?

Next in importance among the historical evidences are the reports of the discussions and proceedings of the conventions held in the several States for passing upon the proposed Constitution. If we search the records of these conventions, we find no assertion, no discussion, no claim of a right of withdrawal or of the dissolubility of the bond of the Union when once established. The ratification of the Constitution by the conventions is absolute, unqualified, and unconditioned in each instance. New York and Massachusetts called for amendments, but not as conditions precedent. Virginia prefaced her ratification with the expression of some opinions, among which was one that as the powers of the new government were derived from the people of the United States, they might be resumed by them. This, whatever may be its precise meaning, cannot be construed in any case as an assertion of the right of State secession. At most it only asserts the right of the nation, or people of the United States, to dissolve the government which they had formed. If the assertion had been that the States might resume the powers granted in the Constitution, it would have been evidence of an opinion that secession was a State right. Yet Virginia's ratification of the Constitution was as full and unreserved and unequivocal as that of any other State.

In Virginia arose perhaps the warmest discussion, led in opposition to ratification by Patrick Henry and George Mason. These men were deeply in earnest, if we may believe their words. They were sincerely suspicious of the ill effects of the new government. In the very earnestness of their opposition appears one of the proofs that they thought of no right of



withdrawal after adoption of the Constitution. If they had imagined they were entering on a mere experiment from which at any moment they might peaceably withdraw, why should they be shaken with fears for the liberty of Virginia and her people? But from these men came no suggestion or hint of any right of withdrawal for Virginia as a State.

George Mason is one of the names used by Mr. Lodge to represent those most distinctly opposed to the new Constitution, and his views are put in contrast to the views of Washington; but did not Mr. Lodge know that so far was George Mason from regarding the new system as an experiment from which each and every State had the right peaceably to withdraw, that in the Virginia Convention he declared: "This paper (the Constitution) will be the great charter of America; it will be paramount to everything. *After having once consented to it we cannot recede from it.*"

Richard Henry Lee was undoubtedly one of the ablest, most unselfish, and patriotic of the men who represented the public life of Virginia in his day. He opposed the Constitution in a series of letters over the *nom de guerre* of "The Federalist Farmer," letters recently reproduced for us in Mr. Paul Leicester Ford's reprint of "Pamphlets on the Constitution, 1787-8." In these letters Lee nowhere claims or suggests a right of withdrawal from the Union when once formed. On the contrary, he expressly says: "It is to be observed that when the people shall adopt the proposed constitution *it will be their last and supreme act*. It will be accepted *not by the people of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, &c., but by the people of the United States*; and wherever this Constitution, or any part of it, shall be incompatible with the ancient customs, rights, the laws or the Constitutions heretofore established in the United States, it will entirely abolish them and do them away."<sup>1</sup> Does this language hint at a right of withdrawal from an experiment or at a dissoluble compact?

It is worthy of notice that Professor Channing, in his "A Students' History of the United States," styles these letters of Lee "the best expositions of the views of the opponents of ratification."<sup>2</sup>

But in the New York convention we find an incident of the

<sup>1</sup> P. 311.

<sup>2</sup> P. 274.

highest historical significance upon this question. The convention, which had at first been strongly opposed to the Constitution, had reached the point of proposing that the Constitution should be adopted *upon condition* "That until a convention shall be called and convened for proposing amendments to the said Constitution," certain specified powers in the Constitution should not be exercised by the United States. July 23, 1788, it was moved to change the words "on condition" to the words "in full confidence," and this motion was carried. The next day it was "moved to adopt a resolution that there should be reserved to the State of New York a right to withdraw from the Union after a certain number of years unless the amendments proposed should previously be submitted to a general convention." This motion was negatived. Two days later the Constitution was ratified without condition. During these events Hamilton wrote to Madison from Poughkeepsie, July 8, 1788, that "propositions of amendments upon condition that if they are not adopted within a limited time, the States shall be at liberty to withdraw from the Union" were suggested. To this Madison replied from New York the following day as follows:—

"Yours of yesterday is this moment come to hand, and I have but a few minutes to answer it. I am sorry that your situation obliges you to listen to propositions of the nature you describe. My opinion is that a reservation of a right to withdraw, if amendments be not decided on under the form of the Constitution within a certain time, is a conditional ratification; that it does not make New York a member of the new Union, and consequently that she could not be received on that plan. Compacts must be reciprocal — this principle could not in such a case be preserved. The Constitution requires an *adoption in toto and forever*. It has been so adopted by the other States. An adoption for a limited time would be as ineffective as an adoption of some of the articles only. In short, any condition whatever must vitiate the ratification."<sup>1</sup>

It will not be disputed that no opinion of any man then living could have been more authoritative than Madison's to Hamilton under the circumstances then existing. This letter of Madison's was read in the New York convention, and after its reading the Constitution was ratified unconditionally.

<sup>1</sup> Works of Alexander Hamilton, edited by J. C. Hamilton, I. 465.

We are now at the historical point of the ratification of the Constitution by the conventions in the several States. The ratification, as has been said, was in every instance absolute and unreserved. Nowhere do we find the suggestion or assertion that the States or the people were entering on a mere experiment from which peaceable withdrawal was a right of each State. On the contrary we find evidence, in the gravity with which ratification was regarded on all hands, that it was understood, perfectly understood, that the people of the United States acting through the conventions of the several States knew that they were taking an irrevocable step, a step which could only be retraced by consent of the people of the United States or by superior force.

The lesson of the history of this great transaction is that secession, dissolubility, peaceable withdrawal, are claims or doctrines, beliefs or theories, which historically postdate the framing and adoption of the Constitution.

Since 1789 there have been at least four occasions when sentiments favoring a dissolution of the Union by indirect or by direct methods, by nullification or by secession, have affected the people of certain sections of the Union. It is significant, however, that in all these instances such sentiments have obviously grown up from the immediate, local, or temporary interests of the communities so affected. The occasions referred to are (1) the nullification resolutions of 1798 and 1799, commonly called the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions; (2) the Hartford Convention of 1814; (3) the South Carolina nullification of 1832; and (4) the Secession of 1861. A distinct, local, immediate, disturbing influence was at the root of each of these manifestations. They were not historically connected with antecedent opinions. They were not the varied expression of historical or permanent influences.

The nullification resolutions of 1798 were distinctly part of a movement and effort to discredit and overthrow the Federal party, so called, by the Republican party, of which Jefferson was the head. The theory of these resolutions was developed for the occasion. It was not drawn from antecedent historical sources. In other words, this theory was purely forensic, evolved from subtle or refined reasoning on the text of the Constitution. This theory, however, at its utmost stretch, did

not reach to the height of Professor Smith's or Mr. Lodge's dicta. The Virginia and Kentucky resolutions did not assert, except by inference, the right of secession, or the dissolubility of the Union. They merely asserted the right of a State to interfere, — in what ways, was never explained or made clear, — to prevent the execution of laws regarded by those who interfered as plainly unconstitutional. If successful, nullification would of course destroy the government of the Union; but it did not assert the doctrines we are here considering. The resolutions were defended by their authors, not by reference to historical facts, but by subtle disquisition and refined reasoning from the language of the Constitution. Contrary to reason, in the teeth of the plain provisions of the Constitution, they held that the Union was a compact, or league between sovereign states, but they did not assert an historical foundation for such positions.

The Hartford Convention of 1814 was the product purely of temporary local causes. It sprang out of uncongenial soil, and was the expression of unwonted sentiment in New England. The Convention was feeble in its results. It recommended amendments and demands, and if redress was not granted, its utmost suggestion was the appointment of delegates to another convention, "with such powers as the exigency may require."

The graver nullification movement in South Carolina in 1832 was the outgrowth again of purely local and temporary influences. The interest of the State was supposed or claimed to be dependent on free trade or a low tariff. To support this interest, nullification was again put forward, but it was availed of to uphold a local interest. It did not grow out of historical causes, but from temporary and immediate influences.

Not till we reach 1861 do we find the claim asserted in acts that a right of withdrawal existed. Of secession in 1861 it is especially true that it was not an historical growth. Its roots did not go back to 1789. They went back only to the time when the peculiar interests of slavery united the slave-holding states in sympathy, and when the Southern leaders fancied, or feigned to fancy, that the peculiar interests of those States were endangered by the Union. Whoever imagines that the thought or theory of legal secession was an historical out-

growth or survival, or was anything but a logical subtlety, a metaphysical figment, devised and elaborated for the defence of conduct deemed or declared necessary for the interests of slavery, has need to re-read the history of our government.

The attempted defence of secession in 1861 was not mainly historical, but, as in the matter of nullification, chiefly an elaborate and highly metaphysical construction of the Constitution. Compact again was resorted to as expressing the relation of the States to the Union. Original sovereignty of the States was invoked, and from it was drawn the false conclusion that a compact between sovereigns is dissoluble at the will of any contracting party. Such a doctrine had of course no foundation in the history of the Constitution, and it had as little foundation in reason or authority. It is not true, as a matter of reason or jurisprudence, that sovereigns may not enter into an indissoluble compact. If sovereigns enter into a compact, and in such compact agree to refer all disputed questions arising under such compact to a specified tribunal, it is not, and it never was since law and reason prevailed, the right of such sovereigns to withdraw from such compact, except by force. Compact, if it were in reality the basis of our Union, would not warrant secession, would not give sanction to Professor Smith's or Mr. Lodge's dictum.

What has just been said is a perfect answer to the much-used argument that as our Union is commonly called a Federal Union, its members must be sovereigns, and the Constitution must be the terms of a league or confederacy. The truth is, the Constitution is almost wholly national, in distinction from federal. How the name which describes the fewest and least prominent of its features has come to be the characteristic term of its description, is an inquiry more curious than important; but if it were chiefly or even wholly federal, it would not tend the more to warrant secession. A federal Union may be made precisely as indissoluble as a national Union. It is only a question of the terms used to describe the Union and its limits and conditions.

Champions of secession have long practised upon the dogma that sovereignty is indivisible. By this they seem to mean that a sovereign cannot part with a portion of its sovereignty and retain the rest. Therefore, as the States had original sovereignty once, they have it now.

This theory finds no support in reason or authority. There is no hindrance to a sovereign acting as such, disposing of or relinquishing any part of its sovereignty, and retaining the rest, be it more or less. Whatever of so-called sovereign powers of the States were yielded to the Union by the terms of the Constitution, the Union gained. Whatever of sovereign powers the States retained by the terms of the Constitution remained with the States, undiminished and unimpaired.

The concession to the States of original sovereignty, therefore, in no way or degree weakens the bonds of the Union, or sanctions the idea of legal secession, or peaceable withdrawal at will, if the terms of the Constitution import a perpetual union, and provide a common arbiter for the settlement of contested questions; because sovereigns are free to deal with their own sovereign powers, unless restrained by force.

The historical conception of the American Union is, therefore, of a Union indissoluble except by force or consent; of a Constitution which is the fundamental law of a true nation, the people of the United States, who ordained it and still uphold it; a Union and Constitution which, whether regarded as a compact between original sovereigns, or as the government of one nation, is firmly and forever established on foundations which historically as well as forensically are unassailable, and which are the exact contradictories of the dicta which we have now considered.

The result is that we find in the Constitution historically a written instrument of government nowhere called a compact, but everywhere called a constitution; wrought out with deliberation and free discussion covering five months of time; then put before the people and discussed by them for two years; expounded in all its parts in a series of papers constituting "The Federalist," still recognized everywhere as the most authoritative contemporaneous exposition of its character and provisions, as well as a lasting monument of prescient and profound statesmanship; then submitted to the conventions in each of the States, where the discussion was renewed with utmost vigor of support and dissent for two years; and finally adopted in absolute terms and without qualification by the conventions of all the States. And when the instrument emerged from this

long and fiery ordeal, it contained no word expressive of a right on the part of any State, community, or individual, forming any part of the territory or people over whom the Constitution extended, to withdraw; and no hint of a mere experiment; and, what is still more remarkable, in the long and ardent discussions attending its making by the convention and its adoption by the conventions in the States, there is no evidence or statement or claim of a right to withdraw; but there are evidences everywhere, expressed and implied, of a design and purpose to form a government as lasting, as indissoluble, as indefeasible as the people for whom it was wrought out.

Mr. Bryce in his "American Commonwealth" has a passage which hits the truth with unusual force and exactness. In the thirteenth chapter of his first volume he says:—

"There is (in the Constitution) no abstract or theoretic declaration regarding the nature of the federation and its government, and nothing as to the ultimate supremacy of the central authority outside the political sphere allotted to it, nothing as to the so-called rights of the States. As if with a prescience of the dangers to follow, the wise men of 1787 resolved to give no opening for abstract inquiry and metaphysical dialectic. But in vain. The human mind is not to be so restrained. If the New Testament had consisted of no other writings than the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Epistle of St. James, there would have been scarcely the less crop of speculative theology. The drily legal and practical character of the Constitution did not prevent the growth of a mass of subtle and, so to speak, scholastic metaphysics regarding the nature of the government it created. The inextricable knots which American lawyers and publicists went on tying, down to 1861, were cut by the sword of the North, in the Civil War, and need concern us no longer. It is now admitted that the Union is not a mere compact between Commonwealths, dissoluble at pleasure, but an instrument of perpetual efficacy, emanating from the whole people, and alterable by them only in the manner which its own terms prescribe. It is 'an indestructible union of indestructible States.'"

These are keen observations, and as correct as keen. Mr. Bryce has here pierced the husk of things and shown us the kernel of fact. The Constitution was at first a plain charter of government. In process of time it was covered over by a mass of glosses, refinements, and disquisitions, which obscured its original clearness, until some, or perhaps many, came to

think these later vain imaginings of secessionists and their defenders existed in 1789 and were part of the original conception of the Constitution and Union. In truth, they are, one and all, growths or figments of minds bent on finding plausible ways of reaching results or ends which the Constitution in its original, historic conception as plainly forbade as does general opinion since the close of the Civil War.

I do not deny or question the fact that the men of 1787 — Washington, Hamilton, Madison, Franklin, Morris, and their associates — were burdened with anxieties and fears for the success of the new government. It is plain that they were. Undoubtedly those lofty but intensely pathetic words of Hamilton in the eighty-fifth and last number of "The Federalist" represented faithfully the common feeling of all the great men who laid the foundations of our government. "The establishment," exclaimed Hamilton, "of a Constitution, in time of profound peace, by the voluntary consent of the whole people, is a prodigy to the completion of which I look forward with trembling anxiety." I do deny that these fears arose from any belief or admission on their part that the government they had set up had itself provided the open door to its own destruction by conceding the right of peaceable withdrawal from the Union, or that such an opinion prevailed anywhere among the men of 1787 and 1789, and I broadly challenge proof or historical evidence to the contrary. I reverse, therefore, in exact terms, Mr. Lodge's dictum, and I say that when the Constitution was adopted by the votes of States at Philadelphia, and accepted by the votes of States in popular conventions, it is safe to say that there was not a man in the country from Washington and Hamilton on the one side, to George Clinton and George Mason on the other, who thought or claimed that the new system was anything but a perpetual Union and an indestructible Constitution, from which no right of withdrawal existed, and from which no State once entering the Union could retire in any way or under any circumstances, except by force or the consent of the government of the Union.

MR. GAMALIEL BRADFORD spoke in substance as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT, — I shall trespass on the time of the Society only for a few moments, with some comments upon the interesting paper of Governor Chamberlain. I am inclined to



agree with him that to discuss the intentions of the framers of the Constitution is a matter of metaphysical dialectics. The Constitution of to-day rests neither upon those intentions nor upon the decisions of the Supreme Court, but upon the iron logic of events. It is the custom to say that the British differs from ours in being unwritten and changeable by parliament. I think it could be shown that since 1789 our Constitution has been changed at least as much as the British.

From my own reading and as a matter of conjecture, I doubt if any one of the States which ratified the Constitution had any other idea than that they were parting with certain limited powers which they could and would resume if they were exceeded. What Washington and Hamilton feared was not a too strong central government, but that it would be too weak to resist the jealousy and excessive self-assertion of the States. Professor Goldwin Smith and Mr. Lodge are not therefore so far wrong when they speak of it as originally a dissoluble compact.

Time, however, has made short work of that. It was foreshadowed in the national motto "*E pluribus unum*" instead of what would have expressed the State idea, "*In uno plures.*" The federal evolution began almost at once with the purchase of Louisiana, the tariff, and the interstate highways. But the crushing blow came with the Civil War. Slavery was the temporary, State rights the permanent issue, and the one was abolished almost as completely as the other. When Congress divided the South into five military districts subject to federal generals, the "compact" theory, whatever its "legal" position, disappeared as a fact.

The change, again, of the last five years is not less striking than that of the Civil War. With a despotism in the District of Columbia, and another in the Philippines, none the less so that it is exercised by commissions; with Porto Rico, Cuba, Hawaii, Alaska, and the Philippines in various stages of colonial incubation; with the avowed purpose at Washington of building up a navy equal to any in the world, and a standing army trained by foreign service for any work that may be required of it, — it needs no great gift of prophecy to foresee the results.

And the force at the centre is powerfully aided by that at the circumference. The weakness and anarchy of the State, and their creatures the city, governments are playing directly

into the hands of those who are thirsting to exercise the functions of a "world power," and to wield the resources of the whole nation in a conflict with any or all of the effete monarchies of the old world.

If those who stand upon the threshold of the twenty-first century are not to look back upon an onward march in the twentieth in the same direction as that of the nineteenth, if they are not to study the history of another Napoleon Bonaparte leading the United States through the same career as that of the first French Republic and Empire, it will be because of the reform and reinvigoration of the governments of the States.

The PRESIDENT expressed the opinion that, as matter of real historical truth, the framers of the Constitution had, with very considerable political shrewdness, intentionally left the question so that either side might be plausibly argued; leaving it for time and the progress of events to settle the vital issue. If they did indeed pursue this course, they avoided a dangerous rock in the way of nationality; and the event showed that, in so doing, they were men wise in their day and generation.

REV. DR. JAMES DE NORMANDIE read the following paper:—

*Some Early Religious Matters at the Piscataqua.*

Readers of the affairs at the Massachusetts and the Bay colonies in the first half of the seventeenth century and a little later have noticed the bickerings and animosities which each had toward the other. Letters, reports, official documents are full of them. Thus, the Governor of the Massachusetts charged Neal, the Governor at the Piscataqua, with not calling to see him on his way to England,—a discourtesy from one governor to another,—but Neal urged that he had not been well entertained the first time he was there; that letters he had written had been opened at the Bay, and except he were invited he would not call. The Governor at the Bay said the letters had been opened before they reached the Bay. Winthrop says the letters were opened because they were directed to one who was our prisoner, and had declared himself an ill-willer to our government. So Winthrop says of Warnerton (another high official at the Piscataqua) that he lived very wickedly in whore-

dom, drunkenness, and quarrelling, and kept the Piscataqua men in awe of him, — although in fact he was a favorite governor, elected year after year, — while Warnerton says that all at the Bay were rogues and knaves, and he hoped to see all their throats cut. This is a fair type of the language which passed from one settlement to another for a number of years.

The explanation is entirely simple and sufficient to any one who has looked carefully into the history of that period.

The settlement at the Piscataqua was made with a warm devotion to the Established Church of England.

The two persons conspicuous in energy and adventure (among that council of forty noblemen, knights, and gentlemen) to whom King James granted a charter for "planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England," were Gorges and Mason, and they at once began the founding of colonies along the Maine coast. They came not from religious persecution, for they were strong supporters of the Church of England. Colonists bring with them the faith they have grown into before leaving the mother country. The Puritans did not change their creed by emigrating, they only sought a freer field for its establishment. Mason, who began the settlement of the Piscataqua at Odiorne's Point, was a firm upholder of the Established Church, and there is every evidence that he intended his colony to keep up that faith: the men he sent over were attached to it, and in the first inventory of the goods belonging to the Manor House, which was after the idea of a Manor Hall in England, we find there were twelve Service Books.

There was also what was called the "Great House," built farther up the river, at the foot of what is now Court Street, and by reason of the rising ground from this spot to where St. John's Church stands being covered with the wild strawberry, the settlement was named Strawberry Bank historically until 1653, and familiarly so ever since, while by the neighboring towns Portsmouth was long known as "The Bank." In this Great House we have in the inventory the proofs that the settlers were all of the Episcopal faith.

The desire to have the settlement a branch of the Church of England is still more evident from the early charters. In one to Gorges in 1639, we find granted to him "full power, license, and authority to build, and erect . . . soe many

Churches and Chappelles as to the said Ferdinando Gorges his heirs and assigns shall seem meete and convenient, and to dedicate the same according to all the ecclesiastical lawes of this our realm of England, and defining his rights to be the same as those of the Bishop of Durham in the Kingdom of England."

Another charter says: "Our will and pleasure is that the religion now professed in the Church of England and ecclesiastical government now used in the same, shall be ever hereafter professed with as much convenient and established in and throughout the said province and premises, and every one of them."

In another paper it is said of the Piscataqua: "thus it commenced its existence under the auspices of energetic and honorable proprietors who purposed to give it the durable impression of Episcopacy as the efficient handmaid of royalty."

Gorges, Mason, Neal, Hilton, Godfrey, Gibbins, Warnerton, and Williams, leading men at the Piscataqua, were all zealous supporters of the Established Church, and in that faith the first church was built as early as 1638.

You will notice that it was at the very culmination of theological troubles that these settlements were made, the chapel at the Piscataqua being built at the very time that Episcopacy was abolished in England, or the time when Charles, in attempting to force a new Prayer-Book upon the Scottish nation, brought on a war and set up the Puritans. So that any one acquainted with the bitterness of the theological feeling can see a sufficient explanation of the charges bandied from one settlement to another, or of the fact that Winthrop looked with so much disfavor upon those who had ventured to set up Common Prayer in these parts.

And when Mason, the founder of the settlement at the Piscataqua, died, it was looked upon at the Bay as a proof of the Almighty's retribution upon the Episcopal element at the Bank, "the Lord in mercy taking him away," writes Winthrop, for "he was the chief mover in all attempts against us."

Or, again, Winthrop writes that the Piscataqua countenances "all such lewd persons as fled from the Bay." Tolerance in that day had not gone so far as to recognize righteousness of life in those who differed in theological views.

To theological bitterness was also added political animosity,

because some at the Piscataqua felt that the Bay was assuming a jurisdiction which did not justly belong to it.

In 1664 the King appointed a commission to collect testimony in regard to the many complaints. The commission found no great favor in either settlement, but when it came to Strawberry Bank, and gathered the people in the public square, and asked who would be under the immediate government of the King, and renounce the Massachusetts, one Henry Sherburne, a warden of the South Parish, waved his hat and said, "In this settlement one and all for the King."

Another incident which is given a local habitation in the church at the Piscataqua, showing how common was the impression that that settlement retained its allegiance to the Established Church, and called forth the antipathy of the Bay, appears in the "Magnalia": "There have been very fine settlements in the North-East regions, but what is become of them? I have read that one of our ministers once preaching to a congregation there urged them to approve themselves a religious people from this consideration, that otherwise they would contradict the main end of planting this wilderness, whereupon a well-known person in the assembly cried out, 'Sir, you are mistaken, you think you are preaching to the people at the Bay, our main end was to catch fish.'"

They made no talk of coming to these shores for religious liberty, and they were ready to confess they made their fortunes by the fisheries; but there were some very humble fishermen once on the shores of Galilee, who have played quite an important and respectable part in the history of Christendom.

A very striking instance of the power of a single word to throw light upon an old theological controversy is found in the fact that after the Episcopal ministry had to be given up at the Piscataqua, and Puritanism by reason of its increasing numbers and strength had sway, the term "Warden" was retained for the officers of the Old South Parish, and as the settlement grew, and the North Parish was gathered, it also took that name for its officers; and when the Universalist Society was formed, it also had its Wardens, and the Baptist also; and they all use the word to the present day, — a case, so far as I know, paralleled in no other town in New England.

Richard Gibson, the first minister of the South Parish in Portsmouth, was an accomplished scholar, who came over with a colony sent out by one Trelawney of Plymouth in England, and settled in the neighborhood of Saco. He seems to have gone from that settlement to the Piscataqua and to the Shoals, ministering to two or three churches and wherever the supporters of the Established Church were found; but his ministry was not one of perfect peace, for the Puritan element was highly offended at having the ritual of the English Church. Gibson says his ministry at Saco was seriously disparaged because they called him a priest. Later he was summoned before the General Court at the Bay in 1642 because he had baptized at the Shoals according to the Episcopal ritual, and the Shoals were claimed to be within the jurisdiction of the Bay. Winthrop says: "At this General Court appeared one Gibson. . . . He, being wholly addicted to the hierarchy and discipline of England, did exercise a ministerial function in the same way, and did marry and baptize at the Isle of Shoals," and this was regarded as "scandalizing" the government there and denying their title. At that time, however, the title was in dispute and far from being settled; but Gibson had to go to the General Court, where he made a full acknowledgment of all the charges against him without thinking himself guilty of any wrong, and either because the Court recognized that it had no jurisdiction, or because Gibson expressed his determination to return to England, he was dismissed without fine or imprisonment.

When I was looking up this subject in England, I had a letter from an old gentleman of Ham, England, Trelawney by name and a direct descendant of the Trelawney who established the colony at the Saco, saying that he felt he was still the rightful owner of all that section where now are Portland, Saco, Biddeford, and a number of cities, towns, and villages, and asking me if I could refer him to some good lawyer through whom he might be able to recover it. I could not encourage him that that was possible, but I gave him all the comfort I could by adding that if he could do so, he would surely become the richest person in the Queen's dominion.

The next minister at the South Parish in Portsmouth, settled in 1659, the distinguished Joshua Moody, had an un-

easy time for a large part of his pastorate, on account of the ecclesiastical differences which marked the two colonies. The Episcopal element gradually diminished, and the Puritan element increased; and the latter settled Mr. Moody. But it is interesting to notice that at the Piscataqua they were not able to tax the worshippers, as at the Bay. The Episcopal settlers were willing to help support a Puritan minister rather than have no religious services, but in the old lists of the supporters of the church which are preserved, we find a star by some of the largest contributors, the note to which it points saying these voluntarily subscribed for the carrying on of worship; and there were adherents of the Church of England who would not consent to any rates being levied upon them.

The serious trouble for Moody began when Cranfield was appointed as Lieutenant-Governor in 1682. His commission to harmonize the troubles between the Bay and the Piscataqua, as well as with the Mason heirs, goes on to say, "above all things . . . for the greater ease and satisfaction of our said loving subjects in matters of religion we do hereby will, require and command that liberty of conscience shall be allowed unto all Protestants, and *that such especially as shall be conformable to the Church of England shall be particularly countenanced and encouraged.*"

Cranfield and Moody soon came to an open rupture. At first Cranfield issued a general order that after a certain date all the ministers in the province should, if any persons desired it, have their children baptized, or be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the liturgy of the Church of England, under penalty of imprisonment of the clergyman refusing, and loss of all the profits of his spiritual benefices. Soon after Cranfield sent a notice to Moody that on a following named Sunday he should attend worship at his church and receive the Sacrament according to the service of the Established Church. The order reads very much like the authentic command of Tom Whipple, a famous colonel of New Hampshire during the Civil War, who ordered out twenty-five men for immediate baptism, so as not to be beaten by a revival going on in a Massachusetts regiment encamped near his own. Cranfield also sent to the Rev. Seaborn Cotton at Hampton, saying that when he had prepared his soul he would come and demand the Sacrament of him, as he had

done at Portsmouth. Whether the governor ever prepared his soul is not a matter of record, but without waiting for his appearance the Hampton minister at once fled to Boston. But Moody was of different stuff. He told the marshal, "I durst not, could not, should not do it"; so to the prison at Great Island — now Newcastle, then the court end of Portsmouth — Moody went. A letter of the time says: "Above all our minister lies in prison and a famine of the word of God is coming upon us. No public worship, no preaching of the word. What ignorance, profaneness and misery must needs ensue." The governor was entreated to let Moody go up to the church and preach, under assurances that he would return to the prison at night, but he would not consent.

"Good Mrs. Martin," says a letter, "was buried, being not able to live above one Sabbath after the shutting up of the doors of the Sanctuary." Moody was courageous through it all, and wrote "I told the Court that I should go to prison with much more peace than they sent me thither." "Blessed be God for Jesus Christ, I am quite at peace. Tho. I have many things that are matter of repentance and shame to me, yet in this matter I am abundantly satisfied in my lot, and hope shall be a gainer, and that the cause of Christ will gain by my sufferings."

He was released after thirteen weeks' imprisonment, under a strict charge to preach no more in the province. He removed to Boston, where he was at once chosen minister of the First Church; while in that office he became a Fellow of Harvard College, and upon the death of Rogers the office of President was offered to him, but declined.

He found great comfort in following the lives of the justices who condemned him, and in thinking that the disasters which befell them were the divine judgment for sending him to prison. "One," he says, "repented, and I frankly forgave him; one was excommunicated out of Hampton Church for a common drunkard; one fell into a languishing distemper whereof he died; one was taken by the Indians, and his house and mill burnt." "The Lord give him repentance, though no signs of it have yet appeared."

Mr. JAMES F. HUNNEWELL read a paper on the condition of naval affairs in Boston at the breaking out of the war with Great Britain in 1812:—



*Aid to Glory.*

We have recently been favored by two papers of great importance and interest relating to the Civil War, and showing the real causes of very important events during the famous March to the Sea and the ending of hostilities.

A few notes may be here offered about action in an earlier war, — that with Great Britain, 1812–15, — action within three miles of this place, and some of it not at the time conspicuous, but all of it needed and valuable in brilliant episodes of our national history.

War was declared with Great Britain June 18, 1812. In January Amos Binney had been appointed Navy Agent at Boston, and in March Commodore William Bainbridge Commandant at the Station. Great services to the nation were performed by each of these officers.

What some of the services were will be here told from Mr. Binney's letter-book now owned by the writer. In his time the resources — material and pecuniary — for outfitting heroes and ships were in wonderful contrast to those now existing, and show the triumphs in port that made possible those at sea.

First, note what was done here during six months after the declaration of war. July 28th the "Constitution," Captain Isaac Hull, arrived; August 2d she sailed, and in twenty-eight days returned, after capturing four brigs aggregating thirty guns, and a frigate of forty-nine guns. Well might Mr. Binney write, as he did, to the Secretary of the Navy: "The glorious example of Capt. Hull in the frigate Constitution . . . has given a new tone to the war, . . . and is worthy of all praise."

During August the "John Adams," "Chesapeake," and "Constellation" were repaired, and on the 31st arrived the squadron under Commodore Rogers.

September 11th the sloop-of-war "Frolic" was launched, said to have been the first war vessel launched from the Yard.

In October the frigates "United States" and "President" sailed on the 8th, and on the 26th Commodore Bainbridge in the "Constitution," with the "Essex" and "Hornet."

December 7th the repairs on the "Chesapeake" were finished, and on the 13th she sailed with Captain Evans.

These ships gave a grand account of themselves at sea, and prove what effective work was done in the Yard. As means to the end, let us observe what that Yard was at the time, and must have been when war was declared. We are told by the Agent in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy at a little later date, February 27th, 1813.

After describing the great want of wharf and storage room, the Agent continues with a statement of "the accommodations for Ships of war . . . in detail."

"A Dam 14 ft. wide & extending about 300 ft. across a Bason of the yard & intended to form the Side of a Wet Dock (where is deposited in chaotic confusion a quantity of Timber long since become useless for any Valuable purpose in Ship Building in consequence of Decay occasioned perhaps by neglect) is all the Wharf this Yard can boast. This Wharf, if worthy of the Name, is left intirely dry Six hours in every tide, & has the convenience of a Crane capable of weighing a 32 pound Canonade which at high water may be floated to its Side in a Gundalo or Gun Boat drawing not more than Six feet of Water. A Stone Slip 12 feet wide extending from the high to the Low water line, elevated about three feet from the natural surface of the beach, at which an officer may land from a Barge or Cutter dry shod."

About a month earlier a long list of disadvantages and needs had been given. The present letter continues with account of accommodations for business at the Yard:—

"One Store of Wood three stories high & about 60 by 40 feet with a Dry Cellar, capable of Storeing 1200 Bbls of Wet Provisions. The store sufficiently extencive for the Office of the Navy Store Keeper & perhaps the Sails & Stores of a Frigate but certainly not to include her Rigging.

"Two wooden Sheds 1 Story high Just to cover the Live Oak Timber deposited under them.

"One Blacksmith Shop of Wood large enough for three Forges. Detached at a proper Distance a Brick Powder Magazine of the proper dimensions.

"A Wooden Building one Story that accomodates the Purser of the Yard for his Office & a small quantity of Provisions.

"And I have named all the accomodations within the Yard except the Commandants House & the Marine Barracks. This Sir," he adds, "Is a faithful detail of all the accomodations for the dismantling, Landing, Storeing, repairing & equipping of a Ship of War."

In a place thus provided for a single Ship, the several that have been mentioned must be outfitted, and were outfitted. But these scant material means were even less trying to business skill than were the pecuniary.

About a month after his appointment and four months before war was declared, the Agent wrote to the Department that "the great and pressing claims . . . for the payment of bills for Supplies and labor, and for repairs of the 'John Adams' long overdue, together with the urgent requisitions of the Pursers of the Frigates 'Chesapeake' and 'J. Adams,' " and "the heavy demand for the Provision Contract, has rendered my situation without funds very embarrassing. I have been under the necessity of borrowing a considerable sum to quiet for a time, the Claimants and to keep the repairs of the 'John Adams' progressing, and unless immediately furnish'd with the Amount before ask'd for, shall be under the unpleasant necessity of obtaining further and much larger amount of Loans."

After war was declared, affairs seem to have been even worse. On September 21st it is stated that "the Squadron now in Port [probably the one already reported to have sailed in October] has wholly exhausted the magazine of Salted Provisions deposited at the Navy Yard."

On October 7th the Agent wrote to the Secretary that he was "actually in advance to the Dep<sup>t</sup>" to the sum of \$52,501.96, "to effect which," he adds, "I have exhausted every resource within my controul, and am paying interest on the most of this sum. I have been induced to make these extra exertions that the Squadrons should not be detained in port one moment on my acct at a crisis like the present."

On the 30th, two days after the Squadron of Commodore Bainbridge sailed, he again stated his embarrassment, and that he had been reduced "to the necessity of Borrowing *on Interest* at the Banks and of individuals my friends."

Three months later (January 30, 1813) he wrote that in order "to keep everything going on to the best possible advantage . . . especially when the public mind is so much excited in favor of the Navy," he had "strained every nerve, & quite exhausted every resource," and in doing this he was in advance \$45,000, and "under positive obligations for \$5,000 more." Three days afterwards he received a requisi-

tion for \$2,000 from Portland. "This," he wrote, "put me to my trumps." He strongly desired to respond, and borrowed the amount "from G. & D."

At the time when these personal efforts were made in Boston, a man who had a hundred thousand dollars was thought to be, and relatively was, very wealthy, and facilities for borrowing were much less than they now are.

Pecuniary difficulties continued a year longer, until a crisis was reached in January, 1814, when, on the 11th, the Agent wrote to the Secretary:—

"I am under the painful necessity of informing that in consequence of being wholly destitute of funds, the recruiting service for the several public vessels in this vicinity has been suspended. I have exhausted every resource . . . but it is not within my means to do more than has already been done. Having borrowed & advanced day after day in expectation of a remittance of the amount of my requisition of the 20th Dec<sup>r</sup> last, and being actually in advance Fifty Thousand Dollars am at length to my great mortification literally obliged to Stop. In this most unpleasant situation I must remain until I am relieved by a remittance—It would be useless for me to attempt a description of the disadvantages it will operate to the Department in a pecuniary point of view or to myself as a public Agent, to be obliged to declare to every claimant & every officer who ma[kes] his requisitions for money that I have not the means of satisfying the One or complying with the other. It has been my misfortune to have been many times placed in nearly my present situation but heretofore have succeeded in meeting every claim as it should be met by the public, in doing this I have borrowed on Interest at the Banks & of individuals large amounts at several times & have actually paid upwards of Fourteen hundred Dollars interest money for accommodations that have been solely on public account, which I cannot but believe will be allowed me in the Settlement of my Acct<sup>s</sup> with the Department."

On January 24th he received from Washington \$160,000, and an intimation that he had not pleased some one by making "what I believe to be a simple statement of facts."

It cannot be doubted that the Agent was in desperate earnest, and the Department in a sore pinch for means. The exigencies of the times were shown.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Binney's trials did not end with the war. In 1821-1822 a minor officer in the Navy brought serious charges against him of defrauding the Government. These were investigated by a Commission that in the course of three months was "in session nearly sixty days." From all the Commissioners Mr. Binney received

More might be quoted, but is hardly needed, to prove the fact already shown, that at the declaration of war in 1812, and for some time afterwards, the Government, at its Dock-yard in this important port, was almost utterly unprepared, and its outfit and its funds were lamentably inadequate, and that these deficiencies were met by the ability, patriotism, and private means of a citizen. It was an instance how these qualities have, in time of need, in the background of history, helped heroes to carry the old flag to world-wide renown, and from inconspicuous business position give almost vital Aid to Glory.

Mr. Charles C. Smith presented, by title, in behalf of Mr. WORTHINGTON C. FORD, who had been suddenly called from the meeting, the following paper:—

By the courtesy of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, I am able to offer the following series of letters from James Parker, one of the best known of the colonial printers, to Benjamin Franklin, with whom he had business and official relations for many years. These letters indicate the nature of the profession of printing in the colonies, and develop the close relation existing between printing and the post-office, the patronage of which was in the gift of Franklin, and was of great service in extending his connections as well as in giving some support to the local gazettes. Being publisher of the newspaper and postmaster, the local printer would possess advantages against his rivals.

Articles of Agreement indented made the twentieth Day of February, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand seven Hundred and Forty-one; Between Benjamin Franklin of the City of Philadelphia

“what his conscience always assured him he was entitled to—an unqualified judgement of acquittal.” The Auditor of the Treasury stated that his accounts were “among the most correct . . . adjusted in this office, . . . and there is not certainly an agent who has given stronger proofs of patriotism—even to advances made from his own property in times of need.” He was endorsed by the Secretary of the Navy, and was continued in office.

Disconnected with his public services is a matter that also interests the writer. Mr. Binney owned one of the larger estates in Charlestown, that was awhile, the writer has been told, occupied by Captain, afterwards Commodore, Perry of the famous Japan Expedition. May, 1831, Mr. Binney sold the estate to the late James Hunnewell, the writer's father. There the writer was born, and there he has lived to see a great deal of the old Charlestown pass away.

in the Province of Pennsylvania Printer, of the One Part, and James Parker of the Said City, Printer, of the other Part : Whereas the said Benjamin Franklin, and James Parker have determined to enter into a Copartnership for the Carrying on the Business of Printing in the City of New-York : It is therefore, covenanted granted and agreed by and between the said Parties to these Presents ; and the Said Benjamin Franklin and James Parker do each of them covenant, and mutually agree each with the other of them, and to and with the Heirs, Executors and Administrators of the other of them, in Manner following, That is to Say —

That they the said Benjamin Franklin and James Parker shall be Partners in carrying on the Trade and Business of Printing in New-York aforesaid, for and during the Term of Six Years from the Day on which the said James Parker shall be in possession of a Printing-Press, Types and Materials in the City of New-York aforesaid, provided by the said Benjamin Franklin, if they the said Benjamin and James shall so long live. That the said Benjamin Franklin, shall be at the sole Charge of providing a Printing-Press, with all its necessary Appurtenances together with Four Hundred Pounds Weight of Letters (if the said James shall require so great a Quantity) and shall cause the same to be transported at his own Risque and Expence. to the City of New-York aforesaid, and to be there put into the Possession of the said James Parker. That the Business and Working Part of Printing, and of Disposing of the Work printed : shall be under the [*indistinct*] Management and Direction and confirmed by the Said James Parker or at his expence That all Charges for Paper, Ink, Balls, Tympan, Wool, Oyl, and other Things necessary to Printing, together with the Charge of all common and necessary Repairs of the Press and its Appurtenances ; and also the Charge of Rent for a Shop, and for so much Room as is necessary to be used in the Management of the Business of Printing aforesaid, shall be divided into three equal Parts two of which said Parts shall be defrayed by and paid as due from the said James Parker and the remaining Third Part shall be defrayed and allowed to be paid as due from the said Benjamin Franklin, and deducted out of the Income next herein after-mentioned. That all Money received or to be received for Printing, or for any Thing done or to be done relating to the Business of Printing aforesaid, by the said James Parker, either as Gratuity, Premium, Reward or Salary from the Government, or from others, shall be divided into three equal Parts Two of which said Parts the said James Parker shall have for his Care, Management and Performance aforesaid, and the said Benjamin Franklin shall have the remaining Third Part thereof. That for the regular transacting the Affairs in Copartnership aforesaid the said James Parker shall keep fair and exact Books of Accounts of and con-

cerning all Work done and delivered or sold by him and of all his Receipts and Disbursements relating to the Business of Printing in Copartnership aforesaid, with the Day, Month and Year of each Entry, and submit the same to the View of the said Benjamin Franklin, his Lawful Attorney, Executors or Administrators, as often as thereunto required. And that all the Accounts of the Copartners in Copartnership aforesaid, shall be drawn out fair, and communicated to each other, and settled once a Quarter, to wit, at Midsummer, Michaelmas, Christmas and Lady-Day, during the Copartnership aforesaid, or oftener, if either of them the said Copartners shall require it. And that upon such Settlement, the said James Parker shall remit the Part by this Agreement belonging to the said Benjamin Franklin, in such Wares or Merchandizes, or in Bills of Exchange or in Money, as the said Benjamin Franklin shall direct, by Letter or Order under his Hand, on board such Vessel and to such Port, or by such Person or Conveyance, as the said Benjamin shall also require, by Letter or Order as aforesaid, at the proper Risque of the said Benjamin. That the said James Parker shall not work with any other Printing Materials than those belonging to the said Benjamin Franklin, nor follow any other Business but Printing, during the Continuance of the Copartnership aforesaid occasional Buying and Selling excepted. That the Loss by bad Debts shall be divided and sustained by both Parties, in the same Proportion, as the Money ought to have been divided by this Agreement, if it had been received. That neither of the said Parties shall reap any Benefit or Advantage, by Survivorship, if the other of them shall depart this Life before the Expiration of the said Term of Six Years; but that if the said James Parker shall depart this Life before the Expiration of the said Term, his Executors or Administrators, shall deliver up the Press, Types, and all other Materials of Printing which have been provided by the said Benjamin Franklin, or at his Charge, to the said Benjamin, his certain Attorney, Executors, or Administrators, upon Demand, in good Order and Condition (allowing for the usual Wear and Decay of Such Things) as also the Share of Money, Effects, and Debts belonging to the said Benjamin by the Agreement. And if the said Benjamin Franklin shall depart this Life, before the Expiration of the Term of Copartnership aforesaid, the said James Parker shall continue the Business nevertheless, paying and remitting the Part, by this Agreement belonging to the said Benjamin Franklin, unto the Executors, Administrators, or Assigns of the Said Benjamin, they performing all parts of this Agreement to the said James, which the said Benjamin ought to have done, if he had lived. And at the Expiration of the Term of Six Years aforesaid, the Said James Parker, shall have the Preference of purchasing the said Printing-Press, Types and Materials, if he shall be so disposed, at their

present Value, allowing for the Wear thereof, which shall be judged a reasonable Abatement, considering the time they shall have been used : But if the said James shall not be inclined to purchase them he shall transport, or cause to be transported to and delivered at Philadelphia, the said Printing-Press, Types and Materials, at his own proper Risque and Charges to the said Benjamin Franklin, his Executors, Administrators or Assigns : And if any unusual Damage, by bad Usage or Negligence, shall have happened to them the said James shall make it good. But if the Damage be occasioned by some unavoidable Accident, the Loss shall be divided and Sustained by both Parties, in the same Manner as the Loss by bad Debts is by this Agreement to be divided and sustained : Provided Nevertheless, that if the said Printing-Press, Materials and Types which the said Benjamin provides, shall be lost in the conveyance to New-York, by any Accident of Water or Fire, Enemies or the like ; then the Loss thereby shall be wholly sustained by the said Benjamin Franklin, and the Copartnership hereby made, shall be dissolved and abolished, unless the said Benjamin be willing to continue it, and provide another Press and Types as aforesaid, and send them at his own Risque to New-York aforesaid, there to be delivered to the said James Parker Any Thing herein before contained to the Contrary notwithstanding.

In Witness whereof the Parties to these Presents have interchangeably set their Hands and Seals hereunto. Dated the Day and Year first above-written.

Sealed and Delivered  
in the Presence of us

ROB<sup>t</sup> GRAIR

LEWIS EVANS

JAMES PARKER

B. FRANKLIN

SEAL.

SEAL.

DEAR S<sup>r</sup>, — Mr Whiting came and [*torn out*] hole last Saturday Evening in Jersey Money, except 5s in York of y<sup>e</sup> Pay for y<sup>e</sup> Postage, — I don't know any Body has any of y<sup>e</sup> Spanish Paper to sell cheap, I believe 5 or 6s will be the lowest. I know several ask 8s. — I can yet gladly spare you 4 or 5 Bales, of that I have, having got about 10 Bales yet entire, if you please to order it, I will send it by y<sup>e</sup> first Opportunity. I will make enquiry if any be to be got else where. —

As to what relates to y<sup>e</sup> Copper-Plate, tis thus, — The Engraver is a Silver-Smith ; during y<sup>e</sup> Proposing of y<sup>e</sup> Thing, I gave him some Silver to make me two Silver Spoons ; but he has not done 'em yet. I have been at him several Times : but one time he has been sick, another Time his Wife is sick, &c. I tell him we want him to go about y<sup>e</sup> Plate ; but I fear he is an idle lazy Fellow : I will try him again this Week, and I think if he don't go on it, as he is well enough now, we may despair of getting him to do it at all.



As my Long-Primer is almost worn out, I have had Thoughts of trying to get some new, for which I have not seen an easier Way than to send home some Money by the Man of War now going in about 3 Weeks; but know not well y<sup>e</sup> Price, or whom to apply to, or what Quantity will do; I could make up about 12 or 14 £ Sterl: and I would run my own Risk — but this I will not do without your Advice and Permission:

I received y<sup>e</sup> Pocket Companion safe, tis well enough: — may I ask if the Young Man's Companion be almost done?

I rejoice to hear you all keep your Health: May it continue! —

Our Son is recovered pretty well: but my Wife is poorly, tho' not with the present Sickness, but one She is pretty much accustomed to. —

With all our hearty Respects, I remain S<sup>r</sup>

Your most obedient Serv<sup>t</sup>

JAMES PARKER.

NEW YORK. Sept. 7. 1747.

P. S. I send 4 Quire Marble Paper, it cost 3s 6 a Quire: a Sheet of a different sort is sent, if you are minded for any of that! — Payment for a little more than 1½ Dollar is coming to you; which with y<sup>e</sup> 5s York Money paid by Mr. Whiting will just clear this Paper.

DEAR S<sup>r</sup>, — Last Week I accidentally met M<sup>r</sup> D Lancey in the Streets: I ask'd him, if he had heard any Thing about y<sup>r</sup> Affair, &c he said No; I ask'd him, if he were willing to take the Money? he said yes: — I ask'd him how much it was? and he said £37: principal: — which is more than what you mention however, I will pay it, let it be what it may; — On which I told him, I had Money of Yours in my Hands, and expected your Orders to pay it: — and he said, It was well: — I shall see him, God willing, Wednesday or Thursday.

I am heartily concerned at your frequent Losses — I will see about sending y<sup>e</sup> Paper the first Boat: —

M<sup>r</sup> H. is deprived of his being Councillor, and as he's out of y<sup>e</sup> Governor's favour, 't is suppos'd he will be turn'd out of both his other Places before long.

The History of y<sup>e</sup> Rebels will make about 24 Sheets; 8½ are done as you will perceive by what I send you.<sup>1</sup>

As to what you say about y<sup>e</sup> Materials, I don't think myself a competent Judge at all of the Prices, &c. — I shall therefore rather entirely submit it to you; tho' unless you can better imagine it already than I can, I am of Opinion, We had best wait till y<sup>e</sup> Expiration of y<sup>e</sup> Time; as we are both uncertain of our Lives so long; and if it please God to call me hence, I have none to leave either y<sup>e</sup> Materials to, or a Desire to leave so much in Debt; you will then be obliged to take 'em again:

<sup>1</sup> Probably John Merchant's "History of the Rebellion in Great Britain."

— I can then, if I live, give you a List of every Thing and you can set your Price on them :

The first Half Sheet of y<sup>e</sup> History of y<sup>e</sup> Rebellion is of y<sup>e</sup> new Letter, it sets up all y<sup>e</sup> Italick, to about Half a Page more :—It is not bottle, ars'd ; but is unhappily, about a Hair-space shorter than y<sup>e</sup> other. i.e. the Old :—so won't stand in y<sup>e</sup> same Word, but will do in y<sup>e</sup> same page.

This Letter will do very well for what Long-primer is in y<sup>e</sup> Spelling-Books, &c.

I have not got Pay of y<sup>e</sup> Undertakers of y<sup>e</sup> History ; but am promis'd some this Week : if tis not done, I must stop yet ; for I begin to have less confidence than before : Hynshaw being poor, and 'tother I'm afraid not honest :

I will see about y<sup>e</sup> Marble Paper, &c. with all convenient Speed :—

I was about purchasing a Saw of Mr Meredith ; if you have not already nail'd up y<sup>e</sup> Box. and it is long enough to put y<sup>e</sup> Plate in, I should be glad if you would put that in with y<sup>e</sup> Books :—those sort of Saws are not to be got here :—

I could wish you would send me One Ream of Cartridge Paper Along with the other Things, I not having above 8 Quire of that sort in y<sup>e</sup> House

The Sickness is greatly abated, thank God, tho' there be a pretty many yet down with it, and some die of it still ; By God's Mercy, we are all well

With all our Respects, &c. remain S<sup>r</sup>  
your most obliged Serv<sup>t</sup>

JAMES PARKER.

NEW YORK. Sept. 21. 1747.

#### JONATHAN BELCHER TO WILLIAM BRADFORD

MR. BRADFORD, — I have had repeated Applications, from Mr. Parker, to appoint him the King's Printer, for this Province ; but I shall not do it, unless you are willing, to resign it ; & if you are not, I think it will be proper, for you to be here, the 21: of the next Month, & to bring with you, the Warrant I gave you, in this Matter ; because as Secry<sup>r</sup> Read will then be here, I woud give you a new one, something fuller. — I hope you rec<sup>d</sup> mine of Curr<sup>t</sup>.

I am, S<sup>r</sup>,

Your ready Friend

J. BELCHER.

ELIZABETH TOWN, (N J). Oct<sup>r</sup> : 29 : 1754

WOODBRIDGE, Octob. 27, 1764.

HON<sup>d</sup> S<sup>a</sup>, — Both yours of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> I received late last Night : — I shall endeavour now to answer to both, as well as I can.

With Respect to M<sup>r</sup> Strahan : — Tho' I wrote to him a while ago, that I would see he was paid, if he would wait a little longer ; I told him the Case and that I was in hopes to get it of M<sup>r</sup> Holt, but if he fail'd, I would at last see it paid : — M<sup>r</sup> Holt tells me he had sent him only one £10<sup>s</sup> Sterl. I think there remains about £170 still due : — M<sup>r</sup> Holt is returned from New Haven, says he has brought all the accounts scattered, but he will exert himself to get them settled : He says there is above 6 or 700£ Lawful Money due to us at New Haven, much of it in good Hands, of which the greater Part will belong to me, if ever got in : Green having used all the ready Money, or otherways laid it out in purchasing his Materiels : — He M<sup>r</sup> Holt, has used great Part of his Dues, in purchasing that House, and some other Matters, whilst poor I, have received for the four year Green had it about £12 — Proc. — Things are in this Situation, Green sat up at Hartford, — and the Debts uncollected in. — I could sue Holt, but if I do, he is ruined : and perhaps I not a Farthing the better ; He promises fair, and within this Year past, I continually am getting small Matters from him, towards supporting my Family, that so what little Money I get may the better go towards paying my Debts : — By these Means, the only safe ones, I can think of, I hope to get all paid. — Now as I have almost brought all my Debts into the Compass of Yours and Mr. Strahan's, of which last, the Allowance for the Office of Comptroller, I try chiefly to appropriate, — would it be disagreeable to you to pay M<sup>r</sup> Strahan, and take all my Debts upon yourself, as I would chuse to pay you Interest rather than any other ; tho' Mr. Strahan has not yet demanded Interest, yet it is reasonable that he should either be paid, or have Interest, which I had rather transfer to you — I fancy upon the Whole, what I shall have due from the Post-Office by the first of January next, will pay all Mr. Strahan's Debt, — and then there will be only the Bond I owe you, which going on Interest now, can remain till I can pay it, which I will exert all I can to do, when it may be wanted. — If this Matter be practicable and agreeable to you, I shall be glad to have it carried into Execution as soon as possible — If you have any Money to spare in England : If not, I must try some other Method, to get him paid : for I am as uneasy about it, as he can be.

You say you sent some of the Post-Office Instructions &c. there has none come to Hand yet. — I shall set about making up all the small Books, and send them now to the several small Offices as soon as possible.

The Law relating to the Division Line, I shall send you, but you

will find but little in that to enlighten you: — Mr Alexander<sup>1</sup> had some Things printed when I lived in New York, — pretty large, that might probably enlighten you a little, — the opposite party also printed some Things, but I have not them, tho' I printed most of them, — Whether Lord Sterling could not supply you with them especially of his side, I can't say: — I believe, the Piece of the opposite side can be found in my Store Room in New York among the Papers left there in the parting Division between Weyman and I, as that was printed by Weyman a little before we parted: — If you get the others, and find that necessary, when I go to New York again, I will endeavour to find it.

Now with Respect to the Virginia Affair. — If you should think it the best Method of securing that Matter to Mr [William] Hunter's Son for me to go there, which is the only Thing that would induce me to go, I shall be willing, if Mr Royle dies; but he is not dead yet: otherwise, I should rather chuse not to venture into new Places: — If it would suit as well, for any other, and you can rely on their Integrity, I shall be quite as willing: — I know at the Death of Mr Hunter, Mrs Holt was there, and great interest was making for Mr Holt, who was mighty desirous of going, but when the Contents and Condition of the Will came to be known, that was knock'd in the Head: — Mr Holt would now be very fond of going thither again, and perhaps that would be the most natural: but when you consider, that Mr Holt has taken his Brother's Son, who is Mrs Holt's Sister's Son also; — and Brother to Miss Betsey) and is bringing him up to the Trade, and he is a little older than Billy Hunter, whether he would not find Means to oust young Hunter, in Favour of his adopted Son: — Besides, whether Mr Holt's Incapacity, Neglect or Design in not settling their Accounts, and paying young Hunter his Share, might not greatly injure Hunter, even if he surrendered up the Business. — I don't know one I would or could recommend preferable to Mr Holt; the present Race of young Printers seeming to me most of them, so abandoned to Liquor, as to deserve little Encouragement, besides, their Honesty should be tried first. — Another Objection against Holt, may be, your and others Opinion of his Honesty, — or perhaps, his Incapacity to execute the Business well, for he does all now by the Help of other Hands, may not induce his Journeymen, to try to set up in Opposition, &c. — Upon the Whole, with respect to myself, I could not form great Hopes of Advantage to myself, exclusive of doing Justice to Mr Hunter, — My own printing Business here, my Son could do very well with, as far as relates to the printing; — but I could not even hope the Favour of your continuing

<sup>1</sup> James Alexander, counsel for the Proprietors and a Proprietor himself. The publication was "a Bill in the chancery of New Jersey &c. to which is added the Publications of the Council of Proprietors &c." New York, James Parker, 1747. See Brinley catalogue, No. 3591.

him in my Office as Comptroller, — tho' since his Marriage he is somewhat more settl'd yet he wants that Thought and Solidity necessary to attend it: — In the Post-Office here only he might act: but the Profit of it, is very small, about 301 p An. as Commissioners, and it is in fact the worst Situation for one on the Continent, as 7 eighths of the Letters are for Amboy, to be sent thither, and perhaps twice going after for Pay, before got once: — I have many Times known it necessary to go to Amboy with 4 or 5 Shillings worth of Letters perhaps spend Six Hours Time, and get a Drink of 1/6. and come home for the Profits of 1s. However, I never thought much of it, whilst I have the other Office, or whilst I had the Privilege of franking, &c. — Nor can I suppose, if I went thither I could continue in the Office, — it is true it might suit tolerably better for those lower Offices, than to these: but it would be quite too very inconvenient for any this Way, — Nor would I go, but upon some such Conditions as these, that I would not engage certainly for more than three years at first, in which Time, if it did not suit, by that Time another might be found out more to your Liking; and if I continued longer, to the Time Billy Hunter should be of Ability to carry it on himself, that I should return to my native Country, provided it pleased Heaven to spare me so long: — Upon these Suppositions, if I can be of Service to Mr Hunter's Estate, and to your Liking and Desire, it is all I should think well of; — As I have always thought it my Duty and Interest to do any Pleasure of yours, so I am quite resigned either to stay or go, as it shall seem best to you if Mr Royle dies, upon these Principles you can proceed, according to your Pleasure: — It is probable Mr Royle may recover, and live long enough; — if so, there is no Occasion.

I imagined Mr Holt had wrote to you since he came home; for he told me, and said he would write to you, — (and in which I told him I had nothing to say,) that in those Accounts that Mr Green settled with the Post-Office, there were a great Number of Letters, brought by his Bye-Posts, entirely different and off from the Post-Roads, which as you would not allow him any thing towards his Rider's Pay, could not in Justice belong to the Post-Office; he said he had a List of the Letters, Places, and sums where they came from &c. — and I suppose he will yet write, tho' he has been much hurried in getting his Almanack Materials &c. —

Thus I have, I believe almost tired your Patience, therefore 'tis Time to conclude, with all Respects

Your most obliged Serv<sup>t</sup>

JAMES PARKER.

P.S. The Winds are so exceeding high, these two or three Days, and is so to-day That I fear the Posts can not cross the Rivers, &c.

WOODBRIDGE, Nov. 23, 1764

HON: S<sup>r</sup>, — When you embarked at Chester, I purposed to return that Night, but I could not: However, I got to Philadelphia next Day before Noon: — I immediately applied to Dunlap's Affair, as Mr Cleave had arrived before me; I found all the Security Dunlap had was Mr Cleave's Bond, and Mr Cleave could give no other Security, so I at last took his Mr Cleave's Bond for £44: 19: 10: payable next October, with Interest, as he affirmed he could not pay any sooner as he had nothing to support him but his Wages: — Dunlap was willing to give a Deed for that Land, but not being willing to be at the sole Cost, I sat down, and wrote one myself on Parchment, from the other, with the same Referees, for Dunlap could not grant more than he had, and as he could not redeem the Mortgage Strettel, that was mentioned also, and Credit then was given for the Surplusage — the said Mortgage with its Interest to that Time amounted to £134: 12 — so the Bond is credited for £215: 08: 6 — which makes the £350. — and I told Dunlap if he would redeem those Mortgages, he should have Credit for them: — but he was not then able: — I got him and his Wife to acknowledge the Deed before the Mayor. — but his Deed has not been recorded, nor have I got either of them recorded, as I had no Orders so to do, as I suppose that may be done any Time, and Dunlap gave up his Deed to me, so I have both of them in keeping. — I left Philadelphia before your Letter from the Capes arrived, — with Advice of your leaving the Capes on Friday, tho' as we had the Wind Saturday Night and Sunday Morn at East, we were in pain for you, however as it cleared off at West Sunday Noon, and blew so a few Days after, we supposed you a good Way on your Voyage — Dunlap said nothing to me about Col. M<sup>c</sup>Nott, but I will write to him, — Mrs Franklin having sent to me that part of your Letter. I have not heard from Mr Foxcroft since you departed, but have wrote to him the Transaction, with Dunlap. — As soon as I got home, I sent off my Son to bring home Lady Jane, Mrs Franklin had some Thoughts of coming with her here, but she has declined it, as finding it would be inconvenient to her other Affairs: —

I take the Freedom to inclose this to Mr Strahan, to whom I also write, and send him a small Bill for £8: 11: 5 — which with a small Bill for £10 sent some Time ago, is all I can, or I fear able to get from Mr Holt, — and as I should be glad to close with Mr Strahan in Conformity to your Promise, I trust you will pay him off the Ballance, and such Part thereof as shall remain unpaid to you at this Time, I shall freely pay you Interest for, and then I shall bring all my Debts into one Place — As soon as you have done it, wish you would send me word of it, — I purpose to go early in the Spring, if please God I live

so long, to Philadelphia, and do all I can in your Affair, and wish I may be able to do it to your Satisfaction ;

I hope this will meet you safe arrived, and that you may have your desired Success. — I heard yesterday from Phila' when they were all well, but you may possibly have later Letters than this of mine, as I send this to New York to go by a Merchant ship about to sail soon, and so may be full early, but I would not miss: — I have had my Health since my Journey pretty well, and flatter myself with some Continuance — All Friends here remain much as they were — I do not recollect any Thing more materiel at this Time, so with all Respects remain

Your most obliged Servant      JAMES PARKER.

WOODBIDGE, Jan. 14, 1765.

HON: S<sup>r</sup>, — In Hopes you have received a Letter from me since your Leaving us, which I sent inclosed in one to Mr. Strahan, from New York p a Merchant Ship, I now, attempt a Second to you: — I therein told you, I had taken Dunlap's Deed to you according to your Instructions, and taken Mr Cleave's Bond for the Money he proposed on that Score. — I was returned from Philadelphia, before your Letter from the Capes came up, wherein you mention Mr. Nott's Affair: — I upon the Notice you wrote about it, wrote to Dunlap and Mr. Nott — the latter of which informed the other that he had agreed to pay you, and that it would suit him better so to do: that he had wrote to his Agent in England to pay, and that those Orders were gone home; that however he Mr M<sup>c</sup>Nott agreed to give you a Bond for the Money due, which if paid in England could be afterwards taken up, which Bond he executed and sent to me, — so I give Dunlap Credit for it: — This I hope will be agreeable to your Instructions or Intentions: — The Sum is £48 — 4: 10 — payable y<sup>e</sup> first of May next. — Mr Foxcroft is not come up from Virginia yet, — tho' as I was set to understand he would be up about Christmass, and I not having heard from him to y<sup>e</sup> Contrary, I set out the last of the Year to meet him there, but there met a Letter informing he could not come till y<sup>e</sup> Beginning of February, so I returned again. — The Winter had seemed middling, till the 25<sup>th</sup> of December, when a violent Snow-Storm happened: and it has been cold ever since, — Snow several Times, and once for 48 Hours together about eight Days ago, and the Snow is now on a Level with us a little more than 3 Feet deep, and in some Banks above 6 Feet: — Delaware River and Brunswick all close — the Ferry to New-York extremely difficult; — the Bay full of Ice, It is thought by most, that from y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> Decem. to this Day, the Weather has exceeded the hard Winter of 1740. — God only knows, whether it will continue so long or not. —

I fancy it is very bad to the Eastward, no Post having come in for a Fortnight past from that Way. — We do the best we can this Way.

— I am desired to send you the four last Philadelphia News papers, which I do with this. — wish to hear of your safe Arrival, — All your Friends at Philadelphia, Burlington, &c. were well: nothing more material since your Departure as I know of, but what the News-papers will inform you of. — which being what is needful at this Time, we all join in respectful Compliments, and remain

Your most obliged Serv<sup>t</sup>

JAMES PARKER.

P. S. I have wrote to Mr. Strahan, that I hoped you would pay off the Ballance of my Account to him.

BURLINGTON, May 29. 1765.

HON: S<sup>r</sup> — As I have never had the Pleasure of one single Line from you, in answer to several I have wrote, I can now say but little, — I have made no further Progress in the Accounts yet, than what I mentioned in my last: being obliged to stay at home some Time past: — I wrote you all I could, or did, about your Concerns with Dunlap, but having no Answer, am at a Loss to proceed in any Thing, or how far what I have done may be satisfactory: — As you doubtless will have many Letters from your friends, I have the less Occasion to write at all: However, I thought it not amiss to write a few Lines: — Mr Foxcroft being momentarily expected at Philadelphia; I have only to add Compliments, &c. from

Your very Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

JAMES PARKER.

PHILADELPHIA, June 14, 1765.

HON: SIR — Inclosed you will have as far a general State of the Accounts, as I could hitherto get done: — by the Date's thereof, you will see part of them were done the latter End of February last, and some part just now: — I have been at them this Spell but three Days, and my Business will not permit me to stay longer this time: but as soon as ever it will permit, I will endeavour to examine those Matters that remain, and close them so far: if in the Mean Time we should not have the Pleasure of your Return, which we expect.

Since my last to you, I received one short Letter from you, by Capt. Robinson, who had a long Passage, — the first and the last I have had: — As I did not expect some Things in it, I confess I was a Little Struck: — You say there, you, “expect I shall give my Bond to Mrs Franklin for the Money you have paid for me to Mr. Strahan, exclusive or unmix'd with any other Accounts” — and, — “that I should settle and account with Mr Foxcroft for the Post-Office Al-



lowance" — Now, as there was upwards of £100 Sterl — due to me on the Post-Office Account about the first of Febr<sup>y</sup> the Time you paid it, — and I have ever since endeavour'd to keep off from taking any Post-Office Money, and more is due to me upon it, — I flatter'd myself it would have been agreeable to you to have discounted that Way, — And I was always conceited enough of your Goodness to think you would not be more severe upon me, than a Stranger, — but in the same Letter, you tell me Mr Strahan was so *generous* as to forgive me the Interest, while you expect I should pay Interest for that Money, when good Part of it was really due then to me : — However, as I expect daily to hear again from you about some other Matters, — I shall do every thing that can be even requested of me, with Justice.

— I have inform'd you, I had sent B. Mecom's Printing-Materials round to Burlington, where I am doing a Book for Samuel Smith, called *the History of New-Jersey* : — He does but 600 of them, and its thought will consist of between 25. and 30 Sheets 8<sup>vo</sup>.

— I had Thoughts of purchasing them : But being distressed on every Quarter, and the fatal *Black-Act* lately passed, must render printing of very little Consequence ; so that I think I cannot afford to purchase them, unless they should come much cheaper than the Charge of them to Mecom ; — and indeed they are in many Things the Worse for Wear : — I had rather pay for the use of them, in printing this Book ; but as to any Thing of this Matter, I hope we shall not differ : — for they will be handier to dispose of at your Pleasure. here than at New York ; — You have not sent one Word about Mecom's Effects — They all remain in the Store-House in New York waiting your Orders : —

Mr Foxcroft is now here : But my Attention with M<sup>r</sup> Hall, and he M<sup>r</sup> F. just come, and busy in putting his House in Order, has and does prevent our settling any Thing about my Allowance, — and as he doubtless writes to you, all Things necessary relating to the Office, I have the less to say : — Indeed, we seem to be in Suspense in Expectation of some Alterations in the Post-Office, as all Things else seems going topsy-turvy : — and However, I may be too apt to be chagrin'd, and sometimes the true Old English Spirit of Liberty will rise within me, yet as there is a Necessity to acquiesce in the Chains laid on me, I endeavour at a patient Resignation, knowing it cannot be long ee'r I go hence, and be no more : — My Health sometimes seems to be restored, but at other Times I sensibly feel the Decays of Nature, and the Strokes of Disease : — I think I cannot say quite tho' very near as Cardinal Woolsey did : tho' I have not served my God so faithfully as I have you, yet I am of Opinion, he will not cast me off, in my old Age.

With all Respects remain

Your most obliged Serv<sup>t</sup>

JAMES PARKER.

BURLINGTON, Sept. 22. 1765. Sunday Night

HON SIR, — Yours of July 6. I received Thursday Night last, — and the next Day I went down to Philadelphia, by Order from Mr. Foxcroft, so to do, as soon as the Packet came in, as he expected to receive a Draught of a Table of Rates from you; but by yours to him we are directed to make such Table here: — There were a Number of Tables of Rates of Postage sent to him from England; which might have done very well, if all our Post-Officers here understood the Geography of the Country so well as to know the Distances; wherefore it was Mr Foxcroft's Opinion we should print such as we had before: Accordingly we set about one, and formed it, and I came up from Phila<sup>a</sup> this Day: To-morrow I set out for Woodbridge to print it there; as I have neither Rules nor Figures enough here; but it is not very probable, I shall have one done to send you p this Vessel, as I am told she is to sail next Wednesday; tho' she came in but the Wednesday before; — I am inform'd she is a very dull Sailer, and as some Merchantmen are to sail in a few Days after her, I shall try to send one by them: — As I suppose Mr Foxcroft writes to you all that is necessary about the Post-Office, I need say the less on that Head.

I wrote you about a Fortnight ago, via New York; but whether it went by a Vessel bound to Liverpool, or whether Mr. Colden kept it till this Packet I know not, wherein I inclosed a State of Mr. Hall's Accounts as far as I had them done: — I have had but a very little Time to proceed in them, — nor cannot well, till I have finished Mr. Smith's! History which has yet 5 or 6 Sheets more at least, and then I purpose to proceed to all that I can, in the Affair. — I hope you will receive that, because I had neither Time to copy my Letter or the State of the Account; tho' there is a Copy of that State kept.

By the Packet before this, I answered yours about going to New York: — I have given my Tenant Notice to go out of my House, and purpose to remove thither in the Spring, if nothing extraordinary prevents: — I wrote you some Intreaties about procuring that Place in the Custom-House for my Son: but perhaps he will be thought too young: and as I have never mentioned such a Thing to him, I would not have any of my Friends injured by him: — tho' I think he is mended a good deal, and I hope will in Time see his Follies and quit them: — Tho' the only Objection I have is, he seems to be desirous to live in the Country as well as I; yet I being grown old, it matters little where I spend the few Days the Divine Providence may permit me to enjoy here: The Whole rests upon my spending them in doing my Duty in whatever Station it shall please God to place me: and if I can behave so as not to discredit your Recommendation, it is all I shall desire; tho' I am assured, as I told you in that Letter, that

that Office requires a great deal of attendance, tis said, much more than is adequate to the Allowance, to any Body that can get Bread any other Way:—No Deputy is allowed; but the Surveyor of the Customs has given the Person that had it a new Appointment, which he will keep till I go, or till further Orders.

I saw Mr Hughes at Phila<sup>a</sup> last Night, he is very poorly: he had just received yours p Cpt. Caton:—he showed it to me, with one inclosed about one Mr. Herbergh:—That Herbergh is claiming some Land, this Way. but he can't see what authority that Letter can be of, to invalidate any of his Claims:—But I have nothing to do with this —

As to what relates to the *Stamp-Act*, you will doubtless hear from many Quarters, of the Commotions about it:—I have Reason for this once to be thankful, I am not a Master-Printer at New-York, or perhaps the Impetuosity of my Temper would have plunged me deep one Way or the other:—Whilst here, I only calmly behold them at a Distance:—I shall not pretend to give my Opinion, as it can be of no Service any way:—I indeed am sorry to see them, and have Reason to think One Half of the Americans will die rather than yield, as the Furmentation is almost [*torn*] general: to the Eastward [*illegible*] thward . . 'Tho' in Philad[elphia] considering the Per[ ] there are less than in other Places.

. We all send our humble Salutations, and remain

Your most obliged Serv<sup>t</sup>

JAMES PARKER

WOODBIDGE, October 19, 1765

HON<sup>d</sup> SIR,—About a Fortnight ago, I wrote you by the Packet in Answer to yours of July 14: Since which this Packet arrived, by whom I had not the Pleasure of one Word:—I therein told you, I had gone down to Mr Foxcroft to Philadelphia, by his Order, to consult about the Table of Rates for the Post-Office, which he expected to receive a Copy of from you, but not having it, we set about one, of which I have printed a Number, as per the One inclosed: But it happened to be so large, that no Press in these Parts of the World would take it, so I was obliged to do a small Piece of it by itself and paste upon the Sheet, as you will see:—I think it has been as hard a Job as ever I encounter'd in the Printing-Business; and as I was also press'd in point of Time, the Difficulty was the greater,—I would have lessen'd it by leaving out such places as no Offices were established at, but Mr. Foxcroft had set off for the Eastern Shore of Maryland to establish some Offices there, so I was obliged to proceed:—I endeavoured to be as correct in it as possible, seeing the Postage is now

ascertained by Miles and not by Places, — and those Miles only in general computed and not measured; — tho' the new Act of Parliament orders them to be measured: — If this should be put in Execution, I have the Perambulator or Wheel that was Capt. Jenkins's and I would measure them as reasonably as any Body would.

By a Vessel from New York to Liverpool, I sent a Letter to you, with the last State of Accounts between you and Mr Hall, which I hope will have come to your Hands: — Being called to Different Businesses on account of y<sup>e</sup> present Situation of Affairs, I have neither had Time to proceed with the Accounts nor finish Samuel Smith's History: — But I think as soon as I have supplied the several Offices with these Tables, about half of which I have yet to rule and send, I shall proceed with the History; and then not having even the Prospect of much other Business, I shall Stick by Mr. Hall, till all be done, as far as is possible for me to do.

If you have received the two above mentioned Letters, you will then have all that is needful from me: — I therein tell you, I purpose to go to New-York in the Spring, pursuant to your Directions, even whether I should execute that Office of Land-Waiter or not, — upon the Presumption you continue me in the present Station of the Post-Office: — Mr. Holt's Lease of my Tools, expires the first of May: so does the House I have there from the present Tenant, when I can get Possession again of both: — I flatter Myself I shall be permitted to stay till then; but if it should be thought absolutely necessary I should go sooner; I will go, and take Room there this Winter, tho' I cannot carry a Family so well along. The present Possessor of that Office, being greatly displeased with me, would not act but by a New Deputation from the Surveyor General, and I shall not endeavour to molest him till I cannot help it, — that is till I go there in full. — As you have doubtless Letters from all your Friends about all other Matters and Concerns of your own, any Accounts, I could give must of Course be not so perfect as theirs —

I don't know whether Mr Foxcroft be returned yet from Maryland if he is not, you will know by his not writing this Packet: for he will undoubtedly write to you, if he is returned. —

As to publick Affairs, I ought not much to intermeddle; The Papers and Politicians give you those Accounts perhaps better than I can pretend: — A black Cloud seems to hang over us; but whether it will blow past, or the Thunder break in upon us all, is what he alone, who guides it, can tell: — But poor America, is like to bleed, if the Storm blows not over: — Nay, it appears to me, that there will be an End to all Government here, if it does not: for the People are all running Mad; and say, it is as good to dye by the Sword as by the Famine; and, unless some Stop be put at home, dreadful Work is like to ensue:

— May Heaven avert all those Appearance, and make me for this Time a false Prophet! —

We all desire respectfully to be remembered to you, whilst I remain  
Your most obliged Serv<sup>t</sup>

JAMES PARKER.

BURLINGTON, Nov. 6. 1765

HON: SIR — This moment yours of Sept. 17. I received, and as the Packet is tho't will be discharged immediately, tho' I have the Gout in my right Hand, the first Fit I have had since I been here, I venture to write a few Lines: — The dreadful Commotions in this Country now, you will doubtless hear from abler Hands: — I have almost done the book I am about here: — I have not heard lately from Mr. Hughes of New York: I was to have gone there next week, but believe it will be a Week longer at least: I will write to him, as soon as I can, and will endeavour all the Ways in my Power to procure either the Goods you sent or the Money — And will let you know as soon as I can what I can do.

As I am to leave this Place, and Printing-House, &c. I should be glad to know what I shall do with these Materials, &c. — I would have wrote a good deal, but when you know my Hand is in pain, — tho' otherways pretty well, you will excuse my Brevity

With all our respectful Salutations remain

Your most obliged Serv<sup>t</sup>

JAMES PARKER

BURLINGTON. Jan. 4. 1766

HON: SIR, — About eight Days after mine p December Packet, yours of Sept. 26 1765 p Capt. Robinson came to Hand: — The Chief Matter in yours, which my last will not serve for an Answer to, is that part relating to M<sup>r</sup> Balfour: — Tho' I have the highest Sense of your Kindness in what Answer you return'd him, yet I have now wrote to them, and inclose it to you, first because I would not put them to greater Charge than I can't help, and next that you may see what I have wrote, which is strictly true: — Indeed, I meet with a good deal of hard Fortune; I am really £50 sterl. out of Pocket by their sending me those Books: — It is true it was my own Fault for taking them, and my own Fault for letting my Nephew have them: But I did for the best. — And now, M<sup>r</sup> Holt had the rest, I don't know how to get the Pay: — Would it not have been hard now, if those Goods you sent for M<sup>r</sup> Hughes, after you had recommended them to my Care, I should have let M<sup>r</sup> Holt take them, as he desired, and he never paid me for them. Would it not, I say, have been hard for me to pay you for them: and

yet this I suppose would have been expected, — tho' had he not already caus'd me to answer as well what he had of your sending, as well as those to Mr Strahan, I should doubtless let him have them, tho' I believe he would never have paid me more for them than for the others, and this of Balfour's is just so. — I told you before, I purposed to go to New York in the Spring, God permitting: — I observe what you say about the Office in the Custom-House: — and indeed I think as you do about my Son: But alas! he has been sick now above three Months, — The 20<sup>th</sup> of last Month an Express arrived to me from him, that he lay a-dying, given over by the Doctors, — I was unable to go myself having the Gout too hard upon me: My Wife and Daughter both went, tho' very cold Weather, they found him alive yet, but so low, as to have small Hopes: it has pleased God, however that the last News I had of him three Days ago, there were some Hopes still of his Recovery: — The cold Weather sets in apace, and this River is so full of Ice there is no crossing, otherwise I expected to hear again on this Day: My Gout has held me the longest this Time that ever I had it: — I mend now but very slow as soon as I am able I shall go to Phila\* to proceed with your Business as far as I am able: — My Illness has detain'd me here upon Cost, or I had been with all my Family at Woodbridge by this Time, — I have not but a Wench and three Young People with me: all the rest are at Woodbridge, tho' little or nothing going on, but Sickness. — I wish I may know where to put these Materials for your Pleasure, as I would leave them: — If I can get to New York before the first of May, I will; but last Post, I had a Letter from New York, telling me a Rumour prevail'd there, that I was turn'd out or superseded in that Place in the Custom-House: — tho' I do not know what Grounds there are for such Report, yet as tis possible, I can't contradict it: — Those who gave it, can doubtless take it away, — and if it is so, I submit: — If it is not so I shall proceed to New-York as soon as I can, and know the Truth: I shall endeavour to execute it faithfully and honestly to the best of my Skill, that I may not disgrace your kind Recommendation: But if it is taken from me before I enter into it, neither my Ability or Integrity will ever be called in Question on that Account; I will go nevertheless, God willing to New York and keep the Comptroller's Office there for one Year at least or as long as I shall be intrusted with it: — I wish I had not been engaged to this Job I did here before I knew it, and then I should have gone immediately, — for I have made nothing of the Job, by Reason of Sickness and frequent Lets in the Way, which has kept me so long in doing it, as to eat up all my Profits. — two of my Boys has had long Sickness, and My Son, my Daughter and self have all had almost as long Doctor's Bills as Butcher's — and we are not well yet. —

Jan. 7. This Day heard from Woodbridge, my Son then alive yet

and some sanguine Hopes of his Recovery: — I also received a Letter from M<sup>r</sup> Holt, in answer to one I wrote to him about Balfour, — that part of it I send for your Perusal of it. — as the Nov<sup>r</sup> Packet is expected and may sail before I have warning, I write this beforehand: and here it may not be amiss to say something about the Money you paid for me to M<sup>r</sup> Strahan. When you went away I had near £100 Sterl due in the Post-Office, and I purposed as soon as I heard of your Arrival in England to have tried to pay as far as it would go: — The Beginning of March, I had not yet heard from you, but Mrs Franklin wrote me Word, she had by advice of your Friends, purchased a Lot of Land adjoining your House, for which a large Sum was to be paid down: — As I had not Money myself, I directly went off to New York, and requested some of M<sup>r</sup> Colden, as I could not readily find any other, — he with Difficulty let me have £100, which I immediately sent to her. — it help'd a little to make up the Sum, but as I had not heard from you, I charged it as paid to you on the Post-Office Account — Some time after I received yours about y<sup>e</sup> Payment of Strahan: I can't help confessing y<sup>e</sup> Stile of that Letter was not pleasing: — I never was nor never will be such a Hypocrite, as to speak contrary to my Mind, but I will let that drop: — The first Money I got of the Post-Office Money, I paid M<sup>rs</sup> Franklin £172: 10 — Phil' — at that Time £100 Sterl. and then gave her my Bond for £65 — odd Sterl. being the whole of the Remainder, with the Interest from Feb. 1. — so that in that you get Interest for Interest of some part of it. — and this is what I tho't Right and Just: — If it shall be proved otherways hereafter I will allow it, — for I never wanted to wrong any Body. I have rather oftentimes wrong'd myself — and it always was a Maxim with me so to do. —

Jan. 9. Now I have mentioned M<sup>r</sup> Hughes of New York. He readily allowed the Goods you sent to be delivered to my Order, — but said he had not requested a 10<sup>th</sup> part of them and the Electrical Machine, he understood was not to exceed two Guineas: — He has not yet surrendered up his Estate, but keeps close in his own House, and keeps a School, and is so situated as the Sheriff can't easily come at him: He has offered to deliver all he has up, but his Creditors won't accept it, in Hopes if he is sent to Goal, that his Brother would relieve him: — This he says he will by no Means allow of. — Things remain so: — Tho' would they take all he has got now, and let him go free, he would he thinks soon get into a tolerable Way again, as he has a very good School: and he would then take some of the Goods you sent, and make Payment: but as it is, we are in Suspence about him: — Were I able I would go to New York, and try to dispose of them, but in my present Illness and the Confusion of the Times, they must lay till something alters. — I hope the Goods won't damage by being kept pack'd,

tho' perhaps they may get no good by it, especially if they should have happen'd to be damp'd in the Passage, but as tis, I durst not trust them to be open'd out of my Sight, lest some of them melt, as I have known such Things happen.

Jan. 10. No News of y<sup>e</sup> Packet this Post, but I had News from my Son, that he is some what better, and good Hopes of his Recovery. — I hope it may be so : — tho' he is represented to be quite low indeed. — I think I am a little better myself to day, tho' far from being well. —

Mr. Foxcroft is gone to Virginia again, tho' he said he would not Stay long : — I suppose he wrote p<sup>l</sup> last Packet, and I have nothing materiel farther about the Office : I fear the cold weather will detain him longer than he imagined. — I told you in my last, it was thought most expedient to order Benny Mecom to pay half the Hartford Rider's Allowance, in Connecticut Money : because it would suit the Rider in that Money, when he Benny could not get New York Money to remit, at the same Time, it would keep the Ballance from running too high against Benny, and save the Sum in M<sup>r</sup> Colden's Hands, who before paid it : I have not had Benny's Accounts since last March, tho' I have wrote to him often, and have last Post wrote more peremptorily to him than usual : — He paid some of his first Ballances to the Post-Office, but he has not paid me a Farthing of a small Rent he was to allow me : — nor indeed can I prevail upon him so much to get the better of his lethargick Indolence as for him to write to me, but very seldom ; yet I don't find that any Fault is found with him lately about his Office or printing.

As to the Affairs in New Haven of M<sup>r</sup> Holt's, you know I begg'd to be excused the intermeddling with it, as its acting against myself : for I never can get it out of my Head, that he, or rather I, ought to have above £150 of that Money : but I submit to the Trial, — I have not interfered, — I have been told the Case was referred to Auditors, or Referrees appointed by the Court, but I have not heard what farther has been done, — I suppose M<sup>r</sup> Ingersoll's present Troubles, of which no Doubt you hear, has prevented his pushing the Matter : — I rest in Patience, as I can't help myself any Way, not doubting, but the overruling Hand of Providence, will work to me the best, at least in Reality if not to Appearance.

Jan. 12. Two Days past moderate Weather, the Ice almost thaw'd. but to Day cold again : the Ice fixed, but no crossing the River = or expected to hear from N york, &c — Your Daughter in Burlington was to go home two Days ago, but no crossing the River : since ; — I still remain under the Jurisdiction of the Gout, tho' I am well tired of the Confinement, as well as the Pain : — It tyrannises over me at a hard Rate. — nor is my Situation the best suited for it, as it might be,



but I can't get away, tho' I very much want to. Perhaps I have by this Time almost tired your Patience, and as I hope the next News I hear will be the Arrival of the Packet, I will close this, to be ready to send it, and if any thing happen material, I can add a Bit to it —

With all Respects, remain

Your obliged Humble Ser<sup>v</sup>

JAMES PARKER

12 Clock. Just now heard Packet is arrived, so close my Letter and send it off: — Had none from you by it.

Jan 11. 1766

Forasmuch as I have asserted in y<sup>e</sup> Letter, that I could not help thinking upwards of £150 of the Money, Mr Holt is sued for at New Haven belongs to me you may Require some Reasons for my so asserting: — The Case then is really this: — Before the Year 1755, when I went to New Haven, you know there was no Post-Office between New York and New London, — all Way-Letters from & to the Places between those two Towns were the Rider's Perquisites, and you can hardly help remembering that the Riders complained much of being deprived of them by the Means of Norwalk and New Haven Offices: — But as to Middletown and Hartford, the Inhabitants whilst Living was cheap hired a poor little Man, to meet y<sup>e</sup> King's Riders at Seabrook: — All Letters from any Post-Office to those Places were accounted for, but any from y<sup>e</sup> intermediate Towns, were the Riders' Profits: of which a good number went from New Haven: — Upon erecting a Post-Office at New Haven, the Inhabitants of Middletown and Hartford declined hiring their Rider any longer, and it was some months in that Condition: — I went there y<sup>e</sup> Beginning of January, in April following, I attempted to begin a Newspaper and as it must be naturally concluded, that the most of my Customers would be off the Common Post-Road, I was applied to, and induced to hire the little Rider, (Brookes) to go between Hartford and New Haven. — I wrote to you to Philadelphia about and you did give me some Encouragement in it: — Several of the Inhabitants of Hartford, were induced to subscribe for y<sup>e</sup> Paper, for the Benefit of the Riders coming there: — For the 8 or 9 Months that I was there and hired the Rider, the whole of the Pay for the Papers taken by him would not pay him, but I got something by the Letters received from thence. and expected as much by Letters sent Thither, but of this last I was entirely deprived: — Matters continued so with Mr Holt for near 6 Years longer, in all which Time, we paid more to that Rider, than we ever got for the News papers he carried, being £40 a Year lawful Money, and almost all the Money got for Postage of Letters went to pay the Rider: Tho' had we not hired that Rider not a Letter

from any Post-Office would have gone to or come from Hartford & Middletown:— M<sup>r</sup> Holt declined settling, because he was in Hopes you and M<sup>r</sup> Hunter would have made an allowance: for we paid in that Time, £200 Lawful Money for a Rider,—for which all y<sup>e</sup> News-papers he carried, were they all paid for, would have fell short of y<sup>e</sup> Pay:— You may ask why we did it?— But why does any Body venture on unbeaten Tracks and often get ruin'd by it, whilst others reap the Benefit of their Venture When Mr Holt came to New York, he hir'd the Hartford Rider @ £90 — only p An. — for two years, — as he had a Prospect of a great Run of News papers; and by him we did not lose so much proportionably as by the others: — yet as M<sup>r</sup> Hunter order'd M<sup>r</sup> Colden to keep that Riders Returns separate, it to me is a Proof, of what I know to be true that M<sup>r</sup> Holt was to have some Allowance out of it: but it pleased God to take Mr Hunter away, and we were deprived of that: — The hiring that Rider at first certainly did not answer the Purpose: as few such Adventures do at y<sup>e</sup> Beginning, but it certainly will be advantageous in Time:— However I believe in that we suffered in the two year about £70 or £80 — Loss! — Now on the Whole, as M<sup>r</sup> Holt owes me, and this Money is the King's, so if he is compell'd to pay it, I lose it, because he has scarce much more than will pay the King: This makes him indifferent in the Matter, seeing if the King has it, I can't have it: and if the King don't take it, I shall:— Altho' I have not interfered in this Trial One Word, only in my Application to you and M<sup>r</sup> Foxcroft, both of which turn a deaf Ear: (for none so deaf, as those who will not hear). Yet I say, I can't help thinking, nay I am morally positive that in strict Justice, we, or rather I myself, ought to be allowed above £150 Lawful Money, let the Judgment of the Auditors on Trial, be as it may: — In a vacant Hour I have scribbled this, tho' I am resolved to suffer patiently knowing that the Divine Providence can over rule all Things for the best: tho' my Follies make my Deservings very little or Nothing from it.

WOODBIDGE. March 27. 1766

HON: SIR, — My last to you was from Burlington, with the Accounts from whence I was soon after Summoned here, on the Occasion of my Son's being, as was then thought, at the Point of Death: — It pleas'd God however to spare him a little longer, and tho' he is not yet well Yet he is stirring about, —and has some hidden Disorder lurking in his Bowels, which we cannot investigate: — I have been better since I returned Thither, but am not well recovered, — I am preparing for New York with all the Expedition possible for me, hoping as the warm weather approaches I shall get well. — M<sup>r</sup> Foxcroft

I told you was gone to Virginia, from whence he is expected at Philadelphia, the first of April, — I had One Letter from him ordering me to issue the inclosed Letter, which I have done : — I have not the best Prospect of any one good End being answered with Holt : — Royle is dead, and there were several Competitors, so that Holt can't go to Virginia, and tho' he is by Articles to deliver me up my Materials, yet I am informed privately, tho' he will not own it to me, that he intends to continue his Paper, having engaged and got ready other Tools for that Purpose : what Truth there may be in it, 5 or 6 Weeks more will show : — tho' I can get no Settlement or any Money from him.

I told you, that your Box of Books &c. p Tillet, I paid the Freight for, and had put in my Store in New York, — I have not been able to go there yet, as the Weather has been bad, and I not much otherways ; but another Box p Capt. Berton, supposed to be the Electrical Machine, we cannot get up, as you have never sent either Mr Hughes or myself any Bill of Lading, and he won't deliver it up without, so it rests : — If I can sell your Goods when I go at the Cost your Invoice mentions, I will — otherways I must keep them and retail them myself : Perhaps you will think it best I should keep them, and pay you : — This might be the best Way, if I could readily pay them ; — and to pay Interest is almost too heavy for me, unless I could get what I think I am deprived of thro' Holt's Means, which I have but very little Hopes of — Were my Strength equal to my Will, I would still make one Push more, — but I fear my Constitution is gone.

Benny Mecom continues — I fear on the going-back Road, — I can not get him to do any Thing hardly, and I should be much alarmed about him, but that he pays half the Hartford Riders Salary, which being £50 p An. I believe takes almost all the Money that may arise in his Post-Office, bnt I have not received a penny yet on my own Account from him, — nor can I make him reply to any Letter I send him, — and I fear grows more torpid than ever.

I have not had the Pleasure of one Line from you these two Packets, but its no Consequence, except the Bill of Lading mentioned be so. — As to publick Affairs, you get them from better Hands, than I can pretend to. — So have Nothing more to add, than Respects from

Your most obliged Ser<sup>t</sup>

JAMES PARKER



By his Excellency Sir Henry Moore Baronet  
Captain General and Governor in Chief in and  
over the Province of New York, and the  
Territories depending thereon in America  
Chancellor and Vice Admiral of the same.

To all to whom these Presents shall come or may  
Concern Greeting —

Know ye that at the City of New York on the Day of the date hereof  
James Parker Esquire Land Waiter of the Port of New York, appeared  
before me and did then and there take and Subscribe the Oaths and  
Repeat and Subscribe the Declaration enjoined by Law, and did also  
take an Oath for the due execution of his said Office of Land Waiter,  
and was thereupon admitted to the said Employ.

Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms at  
Fort George in the City of New York the  
Third Day of May 1766 in the Sixth Year of  
the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the  
Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain  
France and Ireland King Defender of the  
Faith

[Large piece torn out showing on  
opposite page the name H Moore  
written in pencil.]<sup>1</sup>

NEW YORK, May 6. 1766

HON<sup>d</sup> SIR, — Agreeable to your Requisition and Opinion, in yours  
to me of the 11<sup>th</sup> of May, and 8<sup>th</sup> of June last, I am now come up to  
this City; and been accepted to the Exercise of the Place of Land-  
Waiter here, the 3<sup>d</sup> of this Month, and an Account with the Bond  
executed, and a Certificate of the Matter would be sent with the  
Packet, but the Surveyor-General, Mr Stewart, who is at Philadelphia,  
having wrote the Collector here Word, that he would be here in a Day  
or two, the sending him the Bond and Certificate was delayed, and he  
being the Officer directed to send them home, they will probably not be  
sent till next Packet. — I had been let to know, a considerable Deal of  
Trouble and Fatigue was expected to be the Share of this Office, and  
I am fully Satisfied it is so; but I am resolved to do my Endeavours to  
the best of my Ability, to give Satisfaction, more from a Principle of  
honouring my Recommender, than from any great Benefit or Advantage  
by the Office. — I thank God, I am pretty well in Health now, and

<sup>1</sup> This document is indexed as "Proclamation of Govt of New York, certifying James Parker as Land Waiter, May 3, 1766."

while that continues, I hope all will go well, but as that is precarious, I know not what will be the Case, if that fails me again.

With respect to the resuming the Printing Business here, I have a Press here, and some Letter, and Shall do any Work that offers, that my Hands are capable of; but from the most deliberate Consideration, and consulting my own Mind, I think it not quite expedient to print a News-Paper myself yet a While: — and for these Considerations: — In the present unhappy Times, when the Sons of Liberty carry all before them, M<sup>r</sup> Holt has gained very great Popularity, and being back'd by them, seems to have a Run of Business: — his Brother Royle being dead, who had purchased the Printing-Office that was M<sup>r</sup> Stretch's, and which was never used, M<sup>r</sup> Royle's Right in it was disposed of, and M<sup>r</sup> Holt's own Brother in Virginia,<sup>1</sup> aided by the Sons of Liberty has purchased it for him. — With those Tocles, if I take mine from him, he designs to set out another Paper: — Now, as he will be supported by the Sons of Liberty here, who are all-prevalent, and who look with bad Aspect upon every King's Officer, and in particular on those of the Customs and Post-Office, I apprehend I should fane [scarce?] be able to Stem the Torrent, and while he and I, like two Dogs, were fighting for a Bone, the Third would run away with it: — Therefore, as he is desirous to keep on good Terms with me, if I will let him carry on the Paper alone, in his present good Prospect, so I apprehend, as he owes me a great Sum, that it must be the only Way for me to get my Money; for then I might be able to distance him in Time, which in the present Circumstances of [torn] very doubtful, yet it would probably be at my own Ruin: — These Considerations [torn] weigh with me, but whether you will or can conceive them in the same Light, is [torn] am not so clear in: — However, I submit it. — I have been a Father to him for he [torn] neither have carried on his Business, or held it at any Rate but for my Help. — [torn] Office of Stretch's, by the Invoice I have seen is very compleat, full and good, and the Price Royle gave was but £209 — Sterl. — and I doubt whether Holt's Brother gave that: and in that is included two Presses and a Quantity of Ink; whilst mine that Holt has is almost entirely wore out, at least all the common sized Small Letter; which would make the Match the more unequal against me, if I engaged. — Should I arrest Holt for what he owes me, it might look like Spite too much, and he might take the Benefit of the present Act of Insolvency here, and be afterwards set up and supported by the Sons of Liberty, as they are called. — It is possible nay probable that Times may alter, and if I shall ever be able to procure two or three Fonts of new Letter of the common small sort, I might then be able to encounter with better Hopes and better Strength: Also, I think Weyman is still declining, and if we quarrel, he will

<sup>1</sup> John Hunter Holt ?

recover Strength, which I am not very desirous of contributing to, tho' I shall never attempt to hurt him on Principle, yet I had rather avoid benefiting him. — I am preparing to fit up my Shop, and to put the best Foot foremost that I can. — I just opened your Box of Goods, and find they are not damaged: I have offered them to two or three, at the most moderate Terms from the Invoice, but tis said some of the Articles come too high charged, and none would purchase for Cash: Holt would have taken them on Trust, but I could not betray mine in that, so I think I must take them myself, and make the best of them I can, and am willing to allow you Interest from the Day I take them, which is this present: — If I could do better for your Satisfaction and Interest, I would. — I have not the Electrick Machine yet for Want of the Bill of Lading, and M<sup>r</sup> Hughes keeps close himself, tho' he is one of the Sons of Liberty — He desired me to return you thanks for your kind offer of the Loan of it.

The New Haven Affair with M<sup>r</sup> Holt is not yet determined; for tho' the Sons of Liberty have been so powerful, yet in Fact, little or no Business has been done in any place in the Law Way, — the Courts indeed begin to open now: — Benny Mecom pays one of the Hartford Riders, which I suppose to be nearly what his Office produces, otherways my Hopes of him wax fainter and fainter, — I have repeatedly wrote and pressed him, but he renders abortive all I can do: — He has never paid me One Farthing Rent yet, tho' he promises me some this Month, and promises all his Post-Office Accounts also, so that I hope by the next Packet to give you a more favourable Account of him: God grant it may be so!

I have not heard from M<sup>r</sup> Foxcroft for two or three Weeks past, — he has been above a Month expected from Virginia, whence he went in the Winter, — I don't know any Thing very Material on the Head of the Post-Office, but this: — That the Sons of Liberty finding themselves the Ruling-Party, begin to take upon themselves the governing part also; M<sup>r</sup> Colden tells me they make the Captains of Vessels deliver their Letters at the Coffee-House after their old and accustomed Manner, — tho' against the Captain's Wills, except now and then one who happens to get in unperceived or in the Night; and he durst not say any Thing against it, nor dare the Collector refuse to enter them: — it is surprizing to see the Influence they have, and the Dread every one is Under of Opening their Mouths against them.

Tho' we have had a very mild Winter, we have had the coldest and most backward Spring I think that ever I knew, there has not been but one warm Day properly speaking since the Month of February, and it is so cold now, that I am obliged to keep by the Fire: The Fruit I believe will be much affected by it. — Trade and Business seems very dull in this City in Comparison to what it us'd to be, and yet Pro-

visions as well as every Thing else, are excessively dear and indeed scarce.

I received your of Feb. 26. by this Packet, and observe the Contents thereof, but as there is nothing more material to say in Answer to it, than what is already wrote, I have only to add respectful compliments and remain

Your obliged Humble Ser<sup>v</sup>

JAMES PARKER.

Holt has never settled any Accounts with me, I shall try now to get 'em done amicably while I [*torn*] him to continue the Paper, perhaps I may get it better than if we differ first.

NEW YORK. June 11. 1766.

HON: SIR, — Yours of the 6<sup>th</sup> of April last, via Philadelphia, I received here but had none from you p the Packet, which arrived since: — In my last to you of the Beginning of May, p Packet, I told you of my coming here, and my Reasons for not immediately printing a News-paper: — Since that I having my Certificate and Bond to the Surveyor General of the Customs, I am told he has sent them Home by a Man of War, that sailed soon after he got them: —

I am glad you got the Letter with the State of the Accounts: — I don't doubt but there are Mistakes in it, — I had no Thoughts of closing them: Altho' such State as it was possible to make by the Time mentioned was sent home, and I would now willingly put up with One Hundred Pounds, Loss were but as good a State for Settlement that is as perfect from Errors, made between Holt and I; but that I fear is not possible. — I am so far from thinking it needful for me to close Yours, that I don't think any Thing beneficial, that I have done, but that you and M<sup>r</sup> Hall might have done it to more Satisfaction to both Sides than I have or could do: — As I have been as *unjustly* treated by M<sup>r</sup> Holt, as its possible I could be, and am so much a Sufferer by him: At the same time, whether by his Superior Cunning or by Accident, Col. Hunter only being bound for performance of Agreement, while Holt is in that Affair clear, I must beg Leave, tho' I may only be found a Fool for my Pains, to lay as concise a State of the Affair before you in Hopes you may lay it before Col. Hunter himself, that if I can any Way have some Justice done me, if its only so much as to save me from impending Ruin

You know the first Acquaintance or Knowledge I had of Holt was from your and M<sup>r</sup> Hunter's recommending him to me, requesting me to teach him the Printing Business: — It was enough for me that you recommended him: — What I could do on that Head I did: — Before I began a News-paper at New Haven, I offered him that Printing-House, on the same Terms I had it of you, but he declined it

quite ; On my own Strength I began a News paper in April, hired a Rider at my own Expense to carry them up to Hartford, on a Post-Masters being appointed at Hartford and Middletown just before I went to New Haven, the People refused to hire a Rider to Seabrook : Whereupon the Rider applied to me to hire him : — I did, to my great Loss, to the Benefit of y<sup>e</sup> Post-Office, — This I can make appear. and continued it Six Months, before it was sufficient to quit any Costs, being before that greatly out of Pocket, — We are short-sighted Mortals, and don't know when we go too fast, or too slow, — Holt who was with me all the While, being such a Prospect of Success, became then desirous of the Place : — As I had before offered it, I did not love to be worse than my Word : — tho' after I had run the Risk and beat the Road, it would not appear so eligible in him to ask it, — and indeed, I should never have attempted to beat the Way as I did, but for a Prospect of providing a Place for my Nephew (I believe you Sir, once designed a Favour for your Nephew but was disappointed as well as I) — He then was with me, and M<sup>r</sup> Holt seemed pleased much with his disposition : — After discoursing the Matter, M<sup>r</sup> Holt took the Heads of our Proposals, to consult his Friends : He went to Virginia : — they approved of them : — He returned, and drew the Articles himself, according to his own Conceptions and Will. the Books and Stationary, that were mine and these were one Half to be paid for to me at 112½ tho' I gave 125 — and the other Half to be accounted for to me when sold at the Retail Price — By these Articles, Accounts were to be remitted to me every three Months at least, — Besides my Nephew, he had my Apprentice, which under the Circumstances he came to me upon, was very disadvantageous to me, as the Lad's Parents were to find him Cloaths the first three Years and I the last : — these first 3 years I let Holt have him. at his Intreaty, tho' against the Inclination of both the Boy and Parents : — Quarter after Quarter pass'd and tho' continually requested, no Accounts sent : M<sup>r</sup> Holt had a fine Hand at parrying a Dun, or making an Excuse : — When my Nephew had lived with him little more than one Year, I had continual Complaints of his Dissatisfaction with Holt, and he being near free, absolutely disliked the Place : — I had designed to give him my Half of the Tools if he had merited it, and liked the Place : — On the Expiration of the Term for which we had agreed, and for which Col. Hunter was bound, I wrote to Holt, as y<sup>e</sup> substitute appointed by Col. Hunter, to give him the Refusal of buying or selling : His Answer was — He should not chuse either : but would rather, if I would consent, continue as we were for some Time longer (perhaps a double Meaning was in this, that is to continue without accounting or paying, tho' I understood it on the Terms of the agreement only) I consented but at the same time pressed the Settlement of the Account, and Promises were not want-



ing: Shortly after this Col. Hunter pass'd our Way, and hinted that if Holt could make it out, and was minded to purchase, he would do it for him: — Here I was short in not pressing and inviting him to do it, which I repented of ever after: From his kindness to Holt, I was more inclined to have a good Opinion of him, and thought the chief Reason of his delaying to account, was want of getting in his Pay, which I knew in the News paper Way is slow: As I supplied him with Paper, and Ink, for which he remitted me the full Ballance, and did not run into my Debt any farther, I was easy, in Hopes it would come some time or other. — When Weyman and I parted, Holt had made me some Offer of coming to assist me which I took kindly, but thought it most eligible to decline it, and put my Nephew in at New-York: for some Months he behaved tolerably, and I thought he would mend with Years and Experience, but he took to drinking immoderately and I saw he would soon run to Wreck and Ruin: — I then wrote to Holt, told him my Case: that I would either Withdraw my Printing-House from New-York, and cease my Connection with him also, as I should chuse to bring my Matters in to a less Compass, unless he inclined to take that at New York, — that if he chose it, he might try a Year or two, — and if it did not answer, he should be at Liberty to return, without paying a Farthing for the Use of the Tools, or if it answered, that he Should purchase the Half, and be on the same Terms as we were at New Haven, — that as he frequently complained, that he could not get a Clerk there to assist in settling the Accounts, I told him, if he came to New York he might easily get one: — (In order as he says to get his Accounts in Readiness he delayed coming from February to July) — He accepted the Proposal and came: — I spared him my Hands, my Help, my House and my Advice: — he hired a Book-keeper 6 Months While there, but I never could get any Accounts, — This at last brought on almost an open Rupture: — It would be endless to reccount all the Arguments and Disputes we had, — You know part of them, and Col. Hunter, who came along about that Time knows also of my Complaints of that Matter. — M<sup>r</sup> Hunter dying that Year, the Sound of £1000 left M<sup>rs</sup> Holt, made a great Noise in his Favour, and I was threatned how Strong he would be, if I sued him, or he should set up against me, — tho' I wanted nothing of him but a Settlement, — but I never could get any, or a Sight of his Books — At last he told me he could not attend to keep new Accounts as they went on, and settle the Old, but he would hire the House and Business of me for four Years if we could agree, and that then he should not be necessitated to keep Accounts of Partnership, but would apply to the settling the Past ones: — As we had before discoursed about the Place and Business, I supposed the Business and Tools to be worth £800, that if he pur-

chased the Half, as we at first proposed, and to go on in Partnership, he should, for the Half the *Tools* and *Business*, give me £400, — and thereupon I told him, that as the *Tools* wore out fast, and the *Business* was good at that time, that the four Years Purchase was worth the Half the Whole, which was £400, that if he would pay me £400, down, he should have it at that Price: — M<sup>rs</sup> Holt was then in Virginia, and I would not agree till she returned because the Money was to come from thence: When she came, she consented, tho' a little to my Surprise, because she had often desired to return to New Haven: — but it seems that was only outside: — The Money was to be paid the first of May according to y<sup>e</sup> agreement of the beginning of the Hire: but when it came to, I never got but £80, in Cash, and his Bond for £320, which has lain ever since: — During these four Years, I have wrote and pleaded many a Time for my Accounts, and he had a Clerk or Book-Keeper near 3 whole Years; and yet I can never get the sight of an Account: — I have extorted small Sums of Money from him for Sugar Tea, Flour, and sundry such Things at the Worst Rate conceivable, and he has wrote me more Paper to excuse the not sending them, than would have held them but he is a great Writer as an Author, but not as an Accomptant. (I wish to God Sejanus or Anti-Sejanus had him in England to write for them there; he then perhaps might be in his Element) — Besides the Partnership, he had all the Books left in my Shop, great Part of which were those, I had of you, Sir, which arrived here in June 1760, and Holt came the beginning of July following, and for which I now stand bound to you: to these were added all those which you paid for me to Mr. Strahan besides the greater Part of those from Hamilton and Balfour of Scotland, for which I am threatened with a Suit, and all this exclusive of sundry Things had of me, for which I have scarce in my Opinion got Half the Pay — Upon your recommending to me last Summer to resume my Business in New-York, &c. I wrote to New-York to Holt, telling him my Purpose, and that as my Conduct to him, had been always candid and open, I had a Right to expect such Treatment and begg'd to know what he proposed to do: — He answered, he had formed no Plans at all, nor should he be believed, but when the Time was up, he would deliver up the *Tools*, and would then settle his Accounts and other Affairs, collect in his Debts, and see how he Stood with the World, for that he found himself unable to go thro' the Task in the Business he was in, — This Answer made me a little easy, because I thought it was candid, and the best could be done for both of us, and accordingly made the necessary Preparations; tho' I had heard it hinted that when M<sup>r</sup> Royle was up here last Fall, he had tried to purchase those *Tools* of him, that were M<sup>r</sup> Stretch's, but Royle would not trust him, and he could not raise the Money: — I heard no

more of it, till after Royle's Death, when it was again hinted to me, that he was about purchasing 'em, but I had not a very great Concern about it, because he had so often pretended his *honest* Intentions to me : His many Equivocations, and Quibbles, had indeed, given me but a mean Opinion of him, but I had not quite so bad as he turns out. — During the late Troubles he was arrested as I am told for some Books he bought just before you and M<sup>r</sup> Foxcroft got the Post-Office Books of him, — The having acquired some Reputation with the Sons of Liberty, and telling them (as I hear) that if he went to Jail, his Paper would Stop, they paid that Money for him, — and probably with what Money he had provided towards paying for those Books he has purchased Stretch's Materials — When I came here the first of May, he in his Smooth-tongued Manner, told me his Brother in Virginia, had been so good as to buy them there for him and lend them to him ; — pretended he had now got into great Vogue, and could not drop such a Living ; that he would be glad to live in Friendship with me, and he had Work enough, and would recommend me, &c — *very generous* thought I, only my Accounts and settlement is wanting ! — He said. if he could get somebody to take Care of his Business for him on good Terms, he would set about the Accounts : — At his Request, I sent to B. Goddard, whose Attempts at Providence had not answered, and who had wrote to me to help him to some Birth : He came — but Holt would not agree to what I thought not the most favourable to Goddard : finding they could not agree, I determin'd to arrest Holt, and print a Paper : He thereupon issued a new Paper without any Notice to me : I next Morning wrote the inclosed printed Piece : but before it was done, he sent for Goddard twice, and consented to his first Proposals : — I who want Nothing more than a Settlement, have sacrificed every Thing to that Consideration, if he will settle in three Months, I will not do a News-paper in a Year, — if not, I shall be obliged to do one in my own Defence — tho' I suppose I shall hardly be able to make my Way good, under the present Circumstances, yet I believe it will greatly hurt him, — and if I arrest him, I may not be able ever to get a Settlement, — or to get any Thing of him, but his Ruin, which I do not Want, if I can get any Thing without. — As Green at New Haven delayed all Accounts to me, and I could not sue Holt on that Account, I attach'd the other Half of the 6 Years worn Tools, at the Time B. Mecom surrendered up I offered them to Mecom, on his own Terms. — He proffered £10, for the first Year, £20 for y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> — and 30 for y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> — so as to make it £20 p Ann. which was but one Half of what Goddard gave for Green's — I have trusted him with about £20, also, but I can't get one Penny of Mecom and begin to fear, I never shall : — I have wrote pressingly, but all won't do : — I can't get the Post-Office Accounts of

him, tho' as he pays one of the Riders £50 York p An. believe he can't be much behind-hand there: but otherways believe he is irrecoverable, and I the Sufferer on all Sides —

Perhaps you will say, what is all this Rig-ma-roll to you or Col. Hunter? — Why, I don't know, — unless you or he Shall suggest it something, it is nothing, — but a Story. — I then leave it. — Since my return to this City, I have had no Opportunity of getting the Electrical Machine, the Captain who brought it not being at home, and no delivering was to be had of him, without a Bill of Lading, which he says he signed. Mr. Hughes keeps close yet, tho' the Person for whom he is bound walks at Liberty like a Gentleman: for as he has Nothing they don't trouble him, but think to get it of Hughes, — I told him what you said, he thank'd you kindly, and when the Captain comes home, we shall try to get it. — Tho' the Gout threatens me, yet I have had but little of it since I have been here, but if I am violently attacked, I dont know what I shall do: for I am obliged every Day, to walk from one End of the Town to the other, along the Wharffs, they being determined I shall do the Utmost Duty — And I comply with the more Alacrity, as I won't disgrace the Recommender if I can help it, tho' God knows, I shall well earn the Allowance for it, — We are sworn to take no Fee or Reward, &c. — and I know not that there is any one Perquisite or Allowance for any Thing: — If the Parliament should take off some of the Duties &c. it may make the Service something easier, unless it pass as I have seen it hinted, of Sugars being Stored in the King's Store-Houses, and then it will be worse for me, However better or Worse, I will try to make the best of it: — I am sorry to find the Bulk of the People still disputing the Authority from home: — They think and find the Parliament have given Way in one Affair of Grievance, they begin to imagine both the Post-Office and Custom-House, are like Grievances: — With Respect to Custom-House Officers they were always look'd on as such, but never disputed, till now: — The Post-Office has only in Part been look'd on as such; and that is Still so: — for Notwithstanding the late Acts of Parliament, direct every Captain of Vessel to carry his Letters to the Post-Office and order the Collector not to enter the Vessel till a Receipt is brought from the Post-Master, yet Nothing of this is regarded here: — The Moment a Vessel comes in, the Letters are seized by Force, and carried to the Coffee-House, where they are cried out, and delivered even before M<sup>r</sup> Colden's or my Face, and the Collector durst not, or will not refuse to enter any: — I spoke to the Surveyor General and to y<sup>e</sup> Collector about it, but could. get no Satisfactory Answer: — *They are*, I should have said, *we are* all afraid of the Populace: for the Tail is where the Head should be: — The Spirit of Independence is too prevalent, it does not subside much, and but little real Gratitude appears yet: — The Assembly both here

and at New Jersey sit this Day, and perhaps they may remove some of the Prejudices subsisting: — Mean while I must sing small. I have no Work, — my Tools all worn out, or, rather destroyed, and I not able to purchase new, or even help myself: — Whether my *ill-Nature*, of which I am accused of having a great deal, or my *good Nature*, of which I have but little; hath brought these Calamitous Circumstances on me, must be left to the World to judge here, and to my Maker to punish me for hereafter: However, I never had any Reason to doubt that the good Providence of God, which has hitherto preserved me, will now leave me; I have had your Favours at Times, which I always endeavoured to retain a grateful Sense of: — I have met with many Crosses and Adversities, whether they proceed from my *ill Nature*, or not, I shall not determine: — Before I had any Friends, or Favour from any, I lived; I owed no body, — nor wronged any I did work, I could work, and I was always resolved to work, The greatest Troubles I ever met with might make me fretful and waspish, but they never shall make me *unjust* nor *idle*: — I can struggle thro' Misfortunes, and brave Adversity itself, but unkind Returns of Friends, or those I thought so, and have been friendly to, cuts me deep: — The Losses from Heaven are Accident, of which I have had as many as my Neighbours, neither dejects or dismays me, but it seems hard to see other Persons eat, drink and go well in Cloaths, with my Sweat and Blood, and I in real Want myself; This you may call *Envy*, or what ill-Names it may deserve, but its a Trial few can patiently bear. — I will try to do it. —

I am now come to this City, in Conformity to the Injunctions of the Post-Master General: — The same Duty, that I have hitherto done in the General Post-Office, I continue to do; — If there be any different or peculiar Service, Method, or Transactions for me to do on that Head, or Matter or Conduct different, required of me, — I shall be very glad to know it, and if in my Power to do it, shall comply: — Whatever I know to be my Duty in that Office, I strive to do, — but I may be ignorant of some part of it: — M<sup>r</sup> Colden is my Superior in the Custom-House, whatever he may be in the Post-Office, and I never assumed any Authority over him, — tho' I have perhaps often faulted his Conduct: — Indeed, I have sometimes thought he has been above his true Business, and assumed more than was consistent with his Duty, but he is a Worthy Man I believe: — He enjoys other Offices of good Value, and being much on the Gentleman-Order, does not give that Attendance in the Post-Office that the Publick expects or desires, tho' he has a Right I believe to do it; — that is, he will not attend at all Hours, but only at such as are or may be called Office Hours: — He keeps two Clerks, but they will not attend at all Times, — The Merchants I have heard complain of him, but whether justly or not, I can't farther determine. — What ever Money I get in, I send to M<sup>r</sup> Foxcroft, from whom doubt-

less you hear particularly; — and any Orders or Directions I receive from him, I endeavour strictly to obey. —

I must touch again a little on B. Mecom: — I have lately had some Letters pass'd between us: — for till lately very few pass'd; — tho' I frequently press him, to see if it be possible to move him; — He lives still in the House that is yet Holt's, and I hear has paid him no Rent: — The trial of that Affair is not yet determined, — but I am told, it is to be done the following August, when Holt is to go up there: I have never interfered in that Dispute, as I am a Party as it were concerned I wish it was determined, because if there was any Thing left, I would try to get Something: But this was not what I purposed when I began upon Mecom's Affair. The Thing was, I suppose Col. Hunter, may justly come upon me, for half the Profits of that Printing-Office ever since I took the Possession of it: — now two years: — Now tho' I have never received one Farthing from Mecom, yet upon making me full Satisfaction, and a Settlement for my Part there in the former Time, I am willing he should have his Dues: — The Books and Stationary, that I left there, and for which I had given you Bond for, and paid you Interest for near upon 7 Years I have never been paid for, nor any Account rendered: tho' the very Interest of them, would be nearly equal to what I should get of Mecom, if he paid me, which I think he never will: On the Whole, unless I have some Relief somewhere, which I can't at present conceive, should I keep it entire. I shall be a very great Loser for the whole Printing-Office there now as it stands is not worth £200, our Money, the Business there being sunk, and the Letters worn out, some more and some less than others: — I hardly think Benny will make both Ends meet, even were I to give it him, and his Rent into y<sup>e</sup> Bargain, Whether Holt made any Thing by it, when he had 3 Times the Work that Mecom has, is not for me to say, as I can get no Accounts from him, but Green having a Paper at Hartford, and his Brother one at New-London, as it were Split all the Business to [pieces?] — Indeed, Living of all kinds here seems so much altered, — and the Business of printing so small a Demand, — that I have now been here Six Weeks, and I have not had the Proposal of one Job, or so much as a Single Advertisement — Indeed, it will cost me and my Hands two Months work to get the Office to rights, as the whole is in wretched Order worse than a Heap of Pye, and one Half of it battered to pieces; so that unless I get some new Letter, which I am not able to do, I shall never make any great Hand of it here: However, I may fret at it, I do not despair: for if it please God to give me Life and Health, I shall never be afraid of a Subsistence one Way or other, and a Door may open, that I see nothing of yet.


As you propose to return this Summer, I heartily wish you a safe Voyage of it. — It is probable, that it will be needless for me to write

any more to you there, — As you may be set off before any more comes : — I have told you, I took the Things you sent for M<sup>r</sup> Hughes, — I opened the Shop, and have advertised in Holt's Paper, but exclusive of a few Things that M<sup>r</sup> Hughes took of me, I have not sold but one single blank Book, now six Weeks : — Trade in general is dull, but of Books and Stationary sellers, there are so many here, that a poor Beginner stands no Chance at all. — and so many better sorted, that there is little Inducement for any to come to me.

I apprehend you will be now weary of reading this, if you read it all at once; as I am almost of writing: But as the Jersey Assembly is sitting and I purpose to go to Amboy next Week early, and may not come back till the Packet sails, I chuse to finish before I go : — If I come back sooner, and have any Thing material, I may write again, — tho' I don't imagine it of any Importance, especially if it should be mixed with any further complaining, which I could wish to have Room to avoid, as it can be no Pleasure to you : — I thank God, my Son is almost recovered of his long Sickness, and I hope begins to think seriously of the Station he Stands in, in the World ; — his Affections and Sickness has been long and grievous, but I hope they will Work in him the Effects, I believe, a gracious Providence designs when it sends such : — My Daughter has had a good deal also of Sickness, but we are now all Stirring about. — With all our humble Salutations, remain

Your most obliged Serv<sup>t</sup>

JAMES PARKER.

 With regard to y<sup>e</sup> printing Material at New-Haven, if Col. Hunter or his Substitute, will do me Justice in settling and paying me according to y<sup>e</sup> Tenor of the Articles, he shall have my Half for £90 York Money, or I will allow 90£ for his Half, which he pleases, only settled and cleared first, is all I want, and had rather sell for £90, than buy.

NEW-YORK. Feb 2. 1770.

HON<sup>d</sup> SIR, — My last to you was from Woodbridge, where I have been printing the Laws of Jersey pass'd last Session, — that was p Packet, with the Second of a Bill for £200 sterl, I had of M<sup>r</sup> Colden, — the first of which I sent by a Ship bound for Bristol, along with which I sent you another Power, — as should have sent by Capt. Davis, but he sail'd e're I was aware of it, as did also some other London Vessels, — That Bill was drawn by Wats & M<sup>c</sup>Evers on Harley & Drummond, dated Decemb 21. 1769 — I now send you the First of a Bill I have received from Quebec Office, for £200 sterl, drawn by John Drummond, on Harley & Drummond also, dated 5<sup>th</sup> Decemb — 1769. I send also the First Bill of each Set of two Bills I have received from M<sup>r</sup> Vernon of Rho- Island, who says they are the best he can get : — One of them is for £20 sterl. 60. Days sight, dated Jamaica,

20 June 1769 drawn by Alex<sup>r</sup> Findlater, on William Cunningham, Esq<sup>r</sup>, near Glasgow:—The other is for £52 sterl, 90 Days sight, dated Newport, Jan 9, 1770, drawn by Hays and Polock, on David Milligan, of London, all which I hope will come safe to your Hands, and be acceptable.

According to your Permission have wrote to y<sup>e</sup> Commissioners at Boston and resigned the Place in the Custom-House;—My bad State of Health I had acquainted you with:—I am still but poorly:—when I went to Woodbridge, I was so, and thought myself a little restored by going;—but I cant say it was a great deal; However I can walk a little:—I was concerned at my Non-Ability to open and dispose of B. Mecom's Effects in my Custody; but one M<sup>r</sup> Bell, who is an Auctioneer, and who had an Auction here some Time ago, arriving here again with a Parcel of Books from Phila<sup>a</sup>, and applying to me to print his Advertisement, I proposed his taking all those of B. Mecom's &c. — he consented to try them at Auction, will get the best Price he can for them:—We accordingly open'd the Trunks, and he is now taking an Invoice of them, in order to their being printed and exposed to the knowledge of Purchasers:—He was accounted, and is a pretty good Hand, — and will join them to his Sale: on Opening them, we found a pretty many of them hurt by Mothes, &c. especially the lettering part, but they were other ways good clean and dry, and many of them — quite good, but as Benny had had them some Years, the most saleable it is thought were sold:—I have not his Invoice, so I can't say — I imagine this to be the best I can do: tho' if I should thereby displease you and y<sup>e</sup> others concerned, I should be very sorry:—I will send you one of y<sup>e</sup> Catalogues when printed, — also an Account of Sales, &c. — and if Exchange be not high, I will immediately purchase a Bill, and send it to you:—I suppose I could make more Profit of them by retailing them in my Shop, but in the first Place, they are not now a good Assortment, and those damaged will get worse by laying next, I imagine there will be large Assortments sent for by Noel, Rivington and Gaine, as soon as Importations are allowed:—Indeed they have great Parcels here already stored, which they are not allowed to sell, until the Importation takes Place; — Tis said Rivington having married one of the Vanhorne's, is now in affluent Circumstances, and intends to shine away in the Book-Way: Tho' such Tyrants hurts themselves and others too. — I told you two Scots Paper Spoilers had set up a News-paper here called the New-York Chronicle, — they puff'd and flourish'd away a While, but the Paper is now drop'd:—They were ignorant Blockheads. — but have Impudence enough:—I hear they are now at work, or going to work for Rivington, — they must be more skilful than I apprehend they are, or they won't hold that long: — Indeed, they must be better Oeconomists than I; for tho' I drive on



my Trade, as much as I can, it falls short of supporting itself; — and y<sup>e</sup> Moment I am turn'd out of the Post-Office, I must shut up here, or leave the Country; but while I have that Office, I can make out pretty well, — and hope by Degrees to work out of Debt; tho' I do not owe scarce any Thing now, but what is due to you: — While it shall please God to give me Life, I will struggle hard, to do to all, as I would be done by: — Holt and I nothing done yet. — I don't think he will hold it many Years — for my own part, my Letter wears out, and I have no Appearance of being able to get new, — so we shall wear out together. — If his Majesty shall please to give his Assent to the Jersey Loan-Office Bills it is probable I shall have a good Job of doing the Money, if I live, but that is yet uncertain: — I am satisfied you will not be wanting in your Assistance towards it. —

I have Nothing material to write of the Post-Office, every thing going on generally as usual as far as I can just now tell: — The Winter has been as fickle, as any I have known, extreme Cold at Times, and Moderate at other Times. — We all join in our respectful Compliments to yourself and M<sup>r</sup> Foxcroft, whilst I am

Your most obliged Ser<sup>v</sup>

JAMES PARKER.

NEW YORK Feb 20. 1770

HON; S<sup>r</sup>, — The 2<sup>d</sup> of this Month I wrote you p Capt. Munds, who was then purposing to sail, but for some Reasons known only to y<sup>e</sup> Owners, he is not yet sail'd, tho' the Letter having been put in his Bag, I cannot get it back and he is expected to sail soon, — probably this will come to hand first: — In that I sent the first of each of the three Bills, I now send the second of viz. One from Quebec, for £200 sterl, drawn by J. Drummond, on Harly & Drummond, dated 5 Dec. 1769 — the two others from Rhode Island, One for £20 sterl. 60 Days sight, dated Jamaica 20 June 1769 drawn by Alex. Findlater on W<sup>m</sup> Cunningham, Eq<sup>r</sup> near Glasgow; — the other for £52 sterl, 90 Days Sight, dated Newport Jan 9. 1770 drawn by Hays and Pollock on Dav. Milligan of London: — M<sup>r</sup> Vernon says they are the best he can get, — I hope them safe to Hand and all acceptable.

Yours of the 10<sup>th</sup> December p this Packet I received: — I have resigned the Custom-House Business, and have got my pay: — For your Amusement I send you the Account of the Attorney — I have now done with them, but I can not help thinking it hard as well as absurd that the Officers must appoint such Attorney as the Commissioners please to direct, and that Attorney have 5 p Cent, for receiving the Money, and paying it away, or rather only delivering it to Order. — The Attornies of the Officers in England never had but 2½ p

Cent. and this Tool of the Board has 5 — whereas Mr Hubbart would have received it for me for nothing: — This Man must suck the Blood of about 200 poor Officers, and make double what any of them can make: — the King new the Risk of the Money going to Boston, and every Officer in America, run the risk of it coming back to them, — such Absurdity is to me inconceivable; — In England an Officer could sell his Bills to Advantage, but to Boston, only the Money itself must come generally. — But Ive done. — I wonder a good deal what is become of Robinson; — he has not even wrote to his Wife, she says. —

The Affair of Mecom's Books, I mention'd in mine p Munds since which have proceeded to have them all sold at Auction. — Inclosed is a Catalogue of the Auction: — all in this Catalogue to N<sup>o</sup> 103 — were Mr Bell's own. — Mecom's begins at N<sup>o</sup> 104 — and continues to N<sup>o</sup> 309, the last 10 Numbers are another's Parcel. — The Sale is finished, but the Auctioneer has not settled the Account yet, — By Act of Assembly, there is a Duty on Goods sold at Auction here, and I was the Auctioneer's Security for that Duty, which is first to be settled: — As soon as we can get it done, I will take the Balance and immediately purchase a Bill for it, and send it you, with the particular Account of Sales &c. which you will probably have by the next Packet if I am alive: — I have thought I have done the best by such Auction, but if it should be thought otherways by the Parties concerned, I shall be very sorry, My Reasons I give you in my Letter p Capt. Munds.

My Health is much as it was, — I can walk about; but so emaciated and torn by the Gout, that all the Springs of Nature fail: — I think I am drawing nigh to the Grave with a good deal of Rapidity: God only knows how soon my Course will be finished: I am desirous to resign my Will to his. — All our best Respects await you and Mr. Foxcroft, whilst I am

Your most obliged Serv<sup>t</sup>

JAMES PARKER

NYORK March 27. 1770

HON SIR, — My last to you was p Packet of the 20<sup>th</sup> Feb: — and Capt Munds being not yet sail'd, I have now to add. — This covers a Bill of £250, sterl. Ex<sup>c</sup> 67½ so that it rises here; Wats & McEvers on Messrs Harley & Drummond, dated Feb. 28. 1770. — Of this Bill the Sum of £135 — this Money, is on Account of B. Mecom's Books sold at Auction, and £283 — 15 — the same Money, on the Post-Office Account, the Bill having cost £418:15 — As soon as the Account of the Auction, can be fully made out, I shall send you a particular Account of every Article: tho' I believe there will be little more net

Proceeds, when all the Charges are paid, &c. However, You will see, and if this be more than the net Proceeds, I will debit your Account for the Ballance ; and if less, will debit my own Account, and credit you for it. — This is all the Money I've yet got in.

Mr. Hughes last Week applied to me for the Electrical Machine you sent designed for him ; he says, his Brother John's eldest Son Hugh has spoke to him to get it, and will take it of you. — I have let him open it, and he promises in his Nephew's Stead to take it. — I have not got the Invoice or Account of the Cost ; having only taken down the Invoice of the Stationary that was sent designed for Hughes, and made myself Debtor for them only ; so that if I had the Original Account of the Electrical Machine, I know not what is become of it. — M<sup>r</sup>. Hughes says, it will be paid according to the Charge, and your Order.

The first of three Sets of Bills to you, go by Capt. Munds, by whom this is designed : The second of the same Sets were by the Packet of the 20<sup>th</sup> Feb. — All which with these I wish safe to your Hands

I having nothing else material to write, begg Leave to add, respectful Compliments to M Foxcroft, and self, from

Your most obliged Serv<sup>t</sup>

JAMES PARKER.

NEW YORK, April 23. 1770

HON : S<sup>r</sup>, — Yours of Feb 10. by the Harriet Packet, I just received — She and the Lord Hide Packet came both in at Once. — My last to you was the 8<sup>th</sup> March, by Capt. Munds, who had lain here a long While ; Since that having received some Money from Boston and Bills being low here, only 65, I laid it out in a Bill for £150 sterl, drawn by Wats and M<sup>c</sup>Evers, on Harley and Drummond, the first of which I now send you ; — Also another Bill I just received from Quebec, for £100 sterl. I. Drummond, on Nesbit, Drummond and Franks, Eqrs in London, the first of which I send you. — The 2<sup>d</sup> of each I shall send p the Harriot — I also send the 2<sup>d</sup> of a Bill for £250. sterl, the first of which was sent by Capt. Munds — I hope them all safe to your Hands — Of this last Bill for £250, Sterl. which cost 67½ £135 this Money is on Account of B. Mecom's Books sold at Auction the Remainder Post-Office Money — The Auctioneer was obliged to repair to Philadelphia before we had finally settled, and he promised to be here again shortly, otherways that Account should have been sent you, tho' there will be little more coming any Way. — Holt and I were beginning to make some Settlement, but we are in Trouble other ways, and I so poorly that little Progress has yet been made — I have Hopes we shall proceed, tho' I fear I shall get but little, — I think he does not get a-head any Thing ; and I less.

Agreeable to your Request, I wrote to Quebec, for the Papers that have your Examination in, and this is the first Opportunity I have had to send them since I received them. I hope them safe to your Hand, and that they will be agreeable — Is it consistent to have some Post-Horns sent us, — the Posts are out of them, — None to be got here.

I have now a melancholy Tale to tell: Lewis Jones, the young Man who was assigned to you from London, and by you assigned to me, having served out his Time with me, left me directly after. — He first got to work with the Robinsons: after that he got to Mr Gaine's, where he work'd something more than One Year, got a Wife among the poorer sort, — but never came near me after he first left me — perhaps from a Fraca I had with him a little before his Time was out, on this Occasion, — At the Time my Son went for England, there was a Company of Players here: — Gaine did all their Work, and printed their Tickets: — soon after my Son was gone, One of the Actors found a Number of Counterfeit Play Tickets, as they were done with the same Flowers as the true Ones, he applied to Gaine about them: — Lewis Jones had been that Night at the Play with one of those Tickets given him by one of Gaine's Hands: — they impeach'd Lewis, and Lewis said he had got them of my Son, who had been then 10 Days absent. — the injured Player then came to me, — but after canvassing the Matter with him, I demonstrated to him that the Counterfeits were done with the same Flowers and Types that the true Ones were done; and that they could not be possibly done in my House, as I had not the same Flowers, — tho' Gaine was so base, as to suppose they might be done at my House: — Altho' my Son was bad enough, yet I thought it unmanly Usage, and afterwards putting it close to Lewis, he clear'd Sammy, and own'd he had them of Gaine's Lad: — Lewis was soon after free, and he came no more near me: — About 3 Weeks ago, he was apprehended and taken up, for Uttering Counterfeit Jersey Bills: — What the Evidence is I know not, but tis said several Bills he has pass'd away is return'd on him, and I was told, that Saturday last, three Bills of Indictment were found against him on which he has been arraign'd, and this Afternoon I hear he is to have his Trial, when its generally thought he will be convicted, and I know of no Instance of that sort in this Colony ever being pardoned.

So far Monday P M.

Tuesday April 24.

Last Night Lewis Jones was tried on two of the Indictments: — about 9 o'Clock at Night, his Friends came to me, pleading for me to assist him, with a Character, &c. I had not been out of my Room for 8 Days, and I could scarce crawl, — I went, and the Court indulged him by Waiting till I came, — I related how he came to this Country,

and spoke all I could in his Favour, — and the Judge gave as Favourable a Charge as a Man could do, on which the Jury acquitted him, on those two Indictments; but there is still another to come on this Day, which I hear has a more unfavourable Aspect, — if he should be found guilty, I think he will certainly be hang'd: — I have done all I can, out of Regard for his Parents, who I know must pungently feel the Grief it must occasion to them: — If his Trial is over before this Letter is sealed I will acquaint you of his Fortune: as its probable none else will yet write his Friends about it — Printers ought to be doubly on their Guard with respect to counterfeit Bills, as the Probability of Truth is much against them. — as to Lewis, he never was any Advantage to me, — but as my son informed me, his Father was peculiarly kind to him in London, I should be ungrateful if I did not do my Possibles in Favour of his unhappy Son, — and wish my Ability was such as would enable me to do more — With this I must close at present, and am with Respects

Your most obliged Ser<sup>v</sup>

JAMES PARKER.

P.S. Lewis is acquitted

NEWYORK Wednesday Night  
April 25 — 1770

HON<sup>d</sup> SIR, — Some hours after I had sent my Letter to the Office, to go with this Packet, — Mr Colden's young Man brought me the inclosed Bill of Ex<sup>c</sup> for £50 Sterl, which he offered as he had just bought it @ 62½ — and it being 2½ p Cent cheaper than any to be got. I took it drawn this Day, Henry Thompson, on Messrs Pearson & Baillie of Liverpool — on which I instantly wrote this, as the Mail closes in an Hour.

Lewis was just now here, he came to thank me for the assistance I had given him, to help him escape &c. he intreated I would not write the News to his Father — he promises Amendment of Life, so I submit to you not to acquaint his Friends with it. He may thank your Name for the Judge's favourable Opinion of him, from

Your most obliged Ser<sup>v</sup>

JAMES PARKER.

NYORK, May 10. 1770

HON: SIR, — This only covers the 2<sup>d</sup> of each of three Setts of Bills of Exchange, the first of which I sent p Lord Hide Packet, Capt. Goddard, the 23<sup>d</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> of last Month, not having any new Acquisitions or Receipts since: — One is for £150 Sterl. Wats & McEvers. on Harley and Drummond — Another for £100 Sterl from Quebec, Colin

Drummond on Nesbit, Drummond & Franks; and the other for £50 sterl. H. Thompson on Pearson & Bailie of Liverpool: — This last was sent me by M<sup>r</sup> Colden just as the last Packet was going, and cost but 62½ — all upon the Post-Office Account. — I believe Bills might be had of private Drawers in general for 62½ — but good and publick ones are 65 yet: — Money indeed grows very scarce here. — The Duke Packet, Capt. Goodridge arrived here the 3<sup>d</sup> Instant. I had not a word from you; I hope you are well. — Suppose she is to sail the Beginning of June — Its now eight Months since I have been able to walk well, and I dont know if I ever shall again be able, so that it was Time I quitted the Land-Waiter's Place, when I could scarce crawl; I wish I could get into some warmer Climate in my Old Age; but as 'tis not likely I can hold long, it is little Matter where I be — a few Days more it will be all over with me; I shall try to do my Duty while here, and leave the rest to Providence

In my last I acquainted you with Lewis Jones' Affair: He being happily got clear, came to thank me, and intreated me not to acquaint his Father — Indeed, I never wrote at all to his Father; — and in a Day or two after, finding it would not either be safe or beneficial to him to stay here; he solicited Help to go off: — I contributed as much as I could, towards getting him a Passage to So' Carolina, where he will get Employ, and if he behaves well, think he may retrieve some of his bad Fortune: — My Son told me M<sup>r</sup> Jones had been kind to him in London, I think I have paid that Debt in part at least.

May 14 — P S. Having represented to M<sup>r</sup> Colden, that as Bills were low now, I should be glad to take Advantage of it, to send all I could; for that if Importation took place again, it was thought they would infallibly rise; he this Day sent me £300 this Money, with which and some Money I had already, I immediately purchased a Bill of £200. sterl. which cost but 62½, being the lowest they have been known for many Years, drawn by Watts & McEvers, on Harley & Drummond, dated this Day, the first of which I inclose you, and the 2<sup>d</sup> shall send the first Opportunity.

M<sup>r</sup> Bell the Auctioneer not returned yet from Philadelphia. The Amount of the Whole of the Sales of B. Mecom's Books came to £175 — this Money, but the Commissions, Duty, Rent of a Room, &c. not yet settled, so cannot tell what more will be coming, if any

All our best Respects await you, and M<sup>r</sup> Foxcroft, wishing you Health and Happiness, I am

Your most obliged Serv

JAMES PARKER

## SAMUEL F. PARKER TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

NEW YORK. July 7. 1770

HON. SIR, — I have just Time to let you know that my poor Father departed this Life on Monday the 2<sup>d</sup> Instant; his Disorder was the nervous Fever, he died in Burlington I suppose Mr. Foxcroft has the immediate Care of the Affairs he left concerning the Post Office: — My Mother joins in best Respects, I am

Your obedient humbl<sup>e</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>SAM<sup>L</sup> F. PARKER.

## MARY PARKER TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

NEW YORK October 6<sup>th</sup> 1770

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ESQ<sup>RE</sup>, — Since writing the foregoing My Daughter is returned from Philadelphia without the Comptrollers Books: Mr. Foxcroft intends to bring them himself; when he does shall answer yours as particularly as I can I received yours with a protested bill of M<sup>r</sup> Vernon your Letter and bill I (by the next post) sent to M<sup>r</sup> Foxcroft; who I suppose (and make no Doubt) will do what is needful therein, when my Daughter left Philadelphia M<sup>rs</sup> Franklin and M<sup>rs</sup> Bache were very well, So is the Governor and his Lady: he is now at Amboy to Meet the Assembly —

As soon as M<sup>r</sup> Foxcroft returns my Books I shall Draw out and send you a general Acct of the Post-Office Affairs, also an Acct, of the Different Post Matters in as particular a Manner as I am able from the books; with your own account as it stands in Mr Parkers books.

Inclosed is a small Acc<sup>t</sup> Due me, shall take it as a favour you'll git some one to receive for me. After my best wishes and prayers for your health and Happiness, give me leave to Subscribe myself with Gratitude

Your Most faithful and Obliged

Humble Servant

MARY PARKER

## JENNY BEDFORD TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

WOODBRIDGE, February 2 1773

HONOURED SIR, — At my Mamas perticular request, I take the liberty of writing to you, whom once I could address without ceremony, but the unhappy difference between our families, render that perhaps now more necessary, which would formerly have been looked upon as an act of Duty — You my Dear Sir — I was ever taught to look upon as the Friend, the Benefactor of one of the best of Parents and tho' he

is now no more, and his memory and Actions too soon forgot by some, yet that hand which so kindly assisted him and thought him worthy, when here of friendship, we hope will not forget his family now he is no more — When my Papa died he left Something pritty behind him enough to maintain Mama and for his children to enter into the World upon — His Estate was no way incumbr'd — but with those Bonds to Mr. Franklin, as now appears — but which my Mama have frequently heard him say before his Death, were almost discharged, that he had remitted [*torn*] to Mrs Franklin to near the amount of them — and peticularly the last time he went from home he told Mama he believed he had sufficient with him to Discharge them — However let that be as it will and owing to what cause it may on either side there are now heavy Sums appear due on those Bonds — We have seen Powers of Attorney in the hands of both Gov<sup>r</sup> Franklin and Mr Bache to receive — and secure the Debt — as soon as, the Governors appeared we sent in our Account and were ready to settle — Gover Franklin then took time to send the Account over to you — When we called upon him again he said he had nothing to do with the matter that M<sup>r</sup> Bache had come with a later Power of Attorney, and that we must settle with him — we [*torn*] furnished M<sup>r</sup> Bache with the same accounts as we had the Govenor who in answer said he could not settle till he had heard further from you — since that we have waited and called upon him, again and again — but he says no news from home — and all must be let over [*torn*] till then — Mama thinks it very hard — If interest runs upon the Bonds they have almost consumed the Estate — tho this is what we principally want to know — papa in his Books mentions it, that if Interest is charged upon his Bonds to M<sup>r</sup> Franklin — he thinks it but reasonable he should have commissions upon the Business he did for him — now what business he did — or what commissions to charge — we know not as he kept no Account of it — and therefore we would wish to hear from yourself wèther or not we must pay Interest upon the Bonds and if we do — wèther it is reasonable we should from the time that [*torn*] we have been ready to settle them — it will make an odds in the Interest from that [*torn*] time upon so Great a sum there was Likeness [*next word and a whole line torn and undecipherable*] March 1770 to you by papa of which there is no mention made in the Account furnished Governor Franklin and M<sup>r</sup> Bache, I think he mentions the money arising from Books sold by auc of which we should be glad to be informed of with the rest —

In M<sup>r</sup> Coldens settling the Post Office Books there appears a Balance due to Mama of between 20 and 30 pounds — and M<sup>r</sup> Foxcroft in a letter to her mention that in consequence of papas faithful discharge of his duty, when in office, she is to be allowed the sallary from the time of his Death to M<sup>r</sup> Coldens takeing the Office — M<sup>r</sup> Colden



likewise in a letter to mama mentions it and says that as M<sup>r</sup> Franklin had spoke to him about it, and had informed mama of it, he has only [torn] charged his sallary from the third of October 1770, which was about a quarter after papas Death, he dying July 2<sup>d</sup> 1770 — and had left the intervening Sallary to be received by the Board, and upon any orders from them he would immediately pay it to her — now Good sir — if you think proper mama should receive the quarters Sallary from papas Death to M<sup>r</sup> Coldens taking the office and will make inter [torn] so far — as to have so much of it paid to you as will discharge [torn] his account against the Estate for the London Chronicle, the time papa began to take it October 10<sup>th</sup> 1768, to his Death July [torn] 1770 you will Greatly oblige my Mama — M<sup>r</sup> Potts has cha [torn] his last Account to January 1773 — but he must Charge Instu [torn] for the money after papas Death, til then, as we never receive [torn] after — but Josln and Carr has, who took his office — ,

We should not have troubled or wrote to you, Good Sir was it not for mamas Great anxiety to have her affairs settled and her perticular desire that you should in some measure [torn] concerned in them, that she may know from yourself what she must depend on as to your accounts; as she finds m [torn] difficulty in settling them in her present situation. She is n [torn] advanced in years and afflicted — and would willingly live in peace and she thinks if those Bonds were discharged she could be happy as they are the only incumbrance in the Estate, but which th [torn] we fear will eat the most of it up — she sincerely joins with me in much love and Gratitude for your many favors as would M<sup>r</sup> Bedford the person whom I am so happy in calling Husband — were he present — a Gentleman tho unknown to you yet I flatter myself, whose Good qualities would recomend to your favour — permit me therefore for him — with [ ] to wish you many happy years — and a safe return to your Family and Friends — From Honrd Sir

Your affection humble servant

JENNY BEDFORD

#### MEMORANDUM —

The 1<sup>st</sup> Bond from James Parker to B. Franklin is for £178 .. 18 : 0 *New York Currency*, dated Nov<sup>r</sup> 15, 1763. —

On which is paid —	1766 Dec <sup>r</sup> 10 — £24 .. 19 : 0	} <i>Pensylv<sup>a</sup></i>
	1770 Apr <sup>l</sup> 18 — 20 : 0 : 0	

As appears by two Receipts *wrote* on the Back of the Bond and *signed* by Deborah Franklin —

The 2<sup>d</sup> Bond is dated Aug<sup>t</sup> 1, 1765, and is for £65 .. 12 .. 0 *Sterling*, and on the 25<sup>th</sup> of Jan<sup>y</sup> 1766 was paid £41 : 5 .. 0, *Pensylv<sup>a</sup> Money*, reckoned by J. P. equal to 25£ *Sterling*, as appears by a Receipt *wrote* by him, and sign'd by D. F. viz<sup>t</sup>

"Philad<sup>l</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 25, 1766 — Received of James Parker Forty One Pounds Five Shillings Philadelphia Money, on Account of the within Bond, — Exchange being 165, is supposed to be equal to Twenty five Pounds Sterling.

Y<sup>rs</sup> D. FRANKLIN "

There is likewise on the said Bond a Note or Mem<sup>a</sup> in the Hand-writing of M<sup>r</sup> Parker, as follows, viz<sup>a</sup>

"This Bond is given on this Occasion —

The first of Feb<sup>y</sup> 1765 B. F. paid a Debt for J. Parker to W<sup>m</sup> Strahan in London of £163 .. 13 .. 0, Sterling. — On Advice thereof James Parker repaid to M<sup>r</sup> Franklin in Philad<sup>l</sup> 100 £ Sterl<sup>g</sup> — and the Interest of the other 63 .. 13 .. 0. Sterl<sup>g</sup> &c. being computed to the Day of the Date of this Bond, it is executed for the Payment thereof"

Query. Whether the Interest is rightly calculated, & whether the Interest of the 100 £ from Feb<sup>y</sup> 1, 1765 to Aug<sup>st</sup> 1. should not likewise have been added? —

Query. Whether the several Sums of Money charged as sent by J. P. to M<sup>r</sup> F. for which there are no Receipts on the Bonds, and the Articles charged in his Account as bought for her at New York at sundry Times, should be credited on the Bonds, and reckoned as so much paid from Time to Time in Discharge thereof? Or whether they are only to be look'd upon as so many Articles of an unsettled Book Account to be ballanced by others in B. F.'s Account? —

J. P. has charged in his Account, the 2 Sums £24 : 19 : 0 and 20£ Pensylv<sup>a</sup> Curr<sup>y</sup> for which there is a Receipt on his Bond of £178 .. 18 : 0 N. York Currency; but he has not charged in his Account the Sum of £41 : 5 : 0 Pens<sup>l</sup> Curr<sup>y</sup> for which there is a Receipt on his Bond for £65 : 12 : 0 Sterling, dated Jan<sup>y</sup> 25, 1766; Therefore

Query, Whether that Sum was made up (in the whole or in Part) by the several Articles he has charged in his Account preceeding that Time? or whether it was paid in Cash at the Time, but neglected to be charged in his Account? <sup>1</sup>—

The Rate of Interest is not mentioned in either Bond. J. P. stiles himself in both Bonds, J. P. of Woodbridge in E. New Jersey; but the first Bond I suppose, by the Witnesses Names, to have been executed at Philad<sup>l</sup> and the second at New York. Interest in New Jersey & N. York is at 7 p<sup>r</sup> Cent.

Query, Whither the first Article in J. P.'s Acc<sup>t</sup> (Apr<sup>l</sup> 1763) was not

<sup>1</sup> The Bill of Exchange for 55 £ Sterling which B. F. gives J. P. Credit for, is not charged in J. P.'s Account. Perhaps he kept a separate Account for his Sterling Debt to B. F. —

settled with B. F. before the Bond in Nov<sup>r</sup> 1763?—This Bond I apprehend was given for the Ballance due to B. F. on a Settlement at that Time

Mr. A. LAWRENCE LOWELL presented to the Cabinet from the widow of our late associate, Mr. Edward Bangs, several interesting relics.

Remarks were also made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT and Messrs. DANIEL H. CHAMBERLAIN, WILLIAM S. APPLETON, WILLIAM R. THAYER, and CHARLES R. CODMAN.